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WEEKLY PEOPLE

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ARSON HINTED

THE SO-CALLED FIRST NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATION BURNS DOWN WITH EXPLOSIONS.

The So-called First National Co-operative Association Is One of Those Half-Utopian, Half-Fraudulent Schemes to Inaugurate Socialism Which the So-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic "Appeal to Reason" Has Been Lately Booming as a "Practical" Method to Demonstrate Socialism—The Concern Was About to Move—It Was Heavily Insured—Many Firemen Injured—The Mystery of the Fire is Being Investigated.

Chicago, Jan. 2.—Suspicious circumstances surrounding the fire in the Van Buren street plant of the *First National Co-operative association* and Cash Buyers' union—amalgamated concerns—have aroused Chief Campion and Attorney Thomas Johnson of the fire department, who think it may have been of incendiary origin.

The fire was discovered in the seven story building at 158-160 West Van Buren, at 6 o'clock yesterday morning, and spread quickly to other buildings. Its progress was marked by a number of explosions. President Kahn declared no explosives were kept in the building. The loss to the Cash buyers' union is said to be $250,000, with $210,000 insurance, and the total loss $500,000. The incendiary theory of the police and fire department was founded on the strange manner of the starting of the fire, and later was strengthened by the statement of a person who declared he had seen some one moving about the second story of the building a few moments before the discovery of the fire.

Detectives on the Case.

Concerning the investigation by the fire department Attorney Johnson said: "There are a number of things about that fire that look suspiciously like incendiarism, and we have put detectives on the case. I cannot say just how much evidence we have, but enough to warrant our going ahead, although we will not be ready to make any arrests, if we do make any at all, before Tuesday. I have only the story of the witnesses who say they saw the man in the building just before the fire started, and I know his name, but I will have to corroborate their statement before I can make it public.

"After we get all our evidence in shape we will ask the people whom we suspect to explain, if possible, the seemingly inexplicable circumstances surrounding the fire."

Kahn Says It Is Not Incendiary.

"It is all false, every word," said Mr. Kahn, when told the fire department was working upon the theory that the blaze was of incendiary origin. "I am at a loss to explain the fire, but I feel sure it was not incendiary.

"Some one is trying to ruin me. Our concern is all right. There is nothing to the statement that we have been *paying dividends out of stock sales.* I have never made a statement of how much stock has been sold in the society, and and I will not make such a statement now. *It is true I own half the capital stock,* but there is no possible way that any one can know how much stock has been sold.

"We have paid two dividends at the rate of 10 per cent. a year—the first dividend last February and the second last August. No provision has been made for a dividend this year, and I don't know what will be done at the meeting in January. The concern is in first-class financial condition."

Many Firemen Are Injured.

Yesterday's fire in the plant caused injuries to thirteen persons and the delay of traffic on several street car lines. The injured are:

Avery, George, 15 years old, 49 Pearce street; Boland, John, engine company No. 5; Blocki, Frederick, truck company No. 5; Brown, Jerome, truck company No. 5; Connors, Jefferson, truck company No. 5; Cunningham, Capt. J., engine company No. 5; Gary, John, engine company No. 5; Hussey, Lieut. James, engine company No. 5; McCaffrey, John, truck company No. 5; McLaughlin, Frederick, engine company No. 5; Miller, Charles, 44 Pearce street, watchman; Quon. Thomas, pipeman, engine company No. 5; Scully, John, truck compan No. 5.

All were cut and bruised by bricks from falling walls.

The fire started on the upper floors, occupied by the Cash Buyers' union. It is said to have been preceded by an explosion which shook the structure to its foundations.

The flames spread rapidly, fanned by the high gale which was blowing. When the fire penetrated to the building occupied by the Zeno company, 154 West Van Buren street, the firemen were ordered to the roofs of adjacent structures.

The Boston Rubber Paint company's rooms on the third and fourth floors burned. The walls fell and the building at 162 West Van Buren street was next attacked. The structure was destroyed, causing a heavy loss to the Peninsular Stove company, occupying the seven floors.

Spreads to Other Buidings.

Then came an explosion in the basement of the Co-operative Society building, which tore up sidewalks and pavement, threw firemen into the air, and tore down the Van Buren street trolley wires.

A two story frame building, occupied by John Mahoney, at 166-8 West Van Buren street, as a rooming house, was crushed by falling walls. He had been awakened earlier, and arousing the seven sleeping roomers, with his wife and children hurried to the street. They were unable to save any of their clothing.

The stables owned by the Fortune Bros Brewing company burned. The horses were taken out by policemen.

Motormen on the Metropolitan West Side Elevated railroad, it is charged, disregarded the orders of firemen and rushed their cars through the smoke. Men and women passengers bound for the downtown district became panic stricken.

BACK IN THE S. L. P.

Tell-Tale Events in Western Pennsylvania.

Braddock, Pa., Jan. 9—Recent happenings in this region promise well for a strong Socialist Labor Party Movement henceforth in Pennsylvania, and they square with the tidings that are coming in from all other parts of the country.

I shall lead up by starting with Wilkinsburg. The S. L. P. organized the place with 17 members and we got the charter. Next, in East Pittsburg. The wave of stalwart Socialism that has struck our Hungarian fellow wage-slaves in Milwaukee, in Passaic, N. J., in New York, and in San Francisco struck here also. A Hungarian S. L. P. Section, 45 members strong was organized there. And now comes, in a way, the best of all. Many and good were the comrades of the former Allegheny County Section who left the Party in the Kanglet riots of 1902. Their minds had been poisoned by the Schulberg, Eberle, et al, crooks. They took those men to know something and to mean well, and they allowed themselves to be drawn into that silly "logical center" affair. They have since learned, grown and become wiser. The valiant stand of the S. L. P. has appealed to their S. L. P. hearts. Their organization ordered a referendum on what to do. The vote stood 38 to return to the S. L. P.; 12 (mostly new men taken up since 1902) to join the S. P.; and 18 to remain where they were. The S. L. P. thus won out by an absolute majority of 8, plurality of 20 over those who still imagine there is anything in that visionary notion about the "logical center", and a plurality of 26 over the S. P. There was great joy among the 38 when the vote was announced. With the men who are now well known for crooks left out, some of whom have run away with funds, and the good back the S. L. P. of Allegheny County is going to make up for lost time. We shall have a riproaring Movement. Truly, nothing can resist the march of Socialism and of its army the Socialist Labor Party—"every bad tendency will run its course, and Socialism will survive; then, woe to the men, whose petty interests, mean ambitions and vile intrigues may have for an instant arrested its progress and smirched its name."

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Another Speech by Bebel

(From the German, translated for the Weekly People by Gotthold Ollendorff.

During the revenue debate in the German Reichstag, August Bebel did not silently submit to the accusations of the imperial chancellor, but replied to the same in an energetic manner.

On December 10, Bebel, for the second time took part in the debate and spoke as follows:

"The Herr Chancellor has seen fit to speak about the interior affairs of our party. Especially in regard to the gentlemen whom he regards as revisionists, he has made remarks which cannot be looked upon by the latter, but as deeply insulting. What is the object of the chancellor in doing this? Did he not intend to express his sympathy for these gentlemen? Still his words cannot but cause the opposite from that which he intended. The chancellor has repeatedly affirmed that liberty of thought is limited in our party; he even mentioned a supposed remark at Kautsky to the effect, that the doubting of the reigning opinion is not permissible. He has also said that the attitude of the party at the Dresden convention was such, that Jaures was justified in speaking of the growth of dogmatism in 'humanity'.

"That the paper of my party-friend, Jaures, allows itself this assertion, is comprehensible to be from the standpoint which he takes in opposition to mine, but to draw from this a proof of the dogmatism of the Social Democrats, is not logical. It simply is not true, that Kautsky made the remark cited. If I had expressed myself in a similar manner regarding the chancellor, it would be said again: 'Asertions are made but proof is not fortheoming'. The chancellor may at any time make all the groundless assertions he chooses, he always is uproariously applauded in this house. What then was said in Dresden in regard to this question of opinion? The object is simply to prevent the collaboration of comrades on such bourgeois papers, as insult in the lowest manner their own party. It was a bourgeois paper, the 'Tageliche Rundshau,' which wrote after the convention: 'Things seem to be rather mixed up in Social Democratic society. Among decent bourgeois journalists it goes without saying, not to collaborate in an enterprise, which combats or flings mud upon personal conviction.' I am convinced that neither the Conservatives nor the National-Liberals will ever permit one of their friends to work for a paper which continually decries their respective parties. And what more does the resolution regarding the so-called revisionism demand? Have comrades been expelled? No, it simply has been declared THAT THE PARTY WILL NOT QUIT THE OLD TIME-PROVEN PLATFORM. Is not every party compelled to see to it that complete unity is conserved? And most of all is this the duty of our party, whose principles are so hostile to bourgeois society. It is thus slander of the worst kind to circulate the assertion that the Social Democracy would limit liberty of thought. There is no party organized as democratically as ours. I assert all other parties would not suffer such a Democracy within their ranks; they would regard such a proceeding as an insult, a want of confidence. We do not think of such a thing: we tell ourselves with a genuine Democratic party it must not be different! Furthermore, the chancellor spoke of the Marxian doctrine, rigid as any Asiatic dogma. Certainly, all our dogmas have their origin in Asia.—Buddha, Confucius, Moses, Christ, Mohammed—all were Asiatics. Formerly the Catholics, too, were reproached with a too severe rigidity of dogmas. According to my conviction every religion has to be intolerant; it must have belief in itself, in its infallibility. Therefore, as long as churches opposed each other their respective adherents have persecuted each other. But where is the Marxian doctrine, which is so rigidly observed? I would wish the chancellor to cite one. I could almost swear that he never read anything of Marx. If he had only read the small pamphlet, 'The Communist Manifesto,' he could not speak thus regarding the Marxian dogma. It was nobody but Marx, who emptied the vials of bitterest scorn upon the so-called eternal truths of bourgeois society. He is the founder of the materialist conception of history, as different from any other dogma, as day is from night. And before all, HE IS THE DISCOVERER OF THE LAWS OF MOVEMENT OF MODERN SOCIETY.

"In the preface of the first edition of 'Capital,' published in 1866, he says:

'One nation can and should learn from others. And even when a society has got upon the right track for the discovery of the natural laws of its movements—and it is the ultimate aim of this work, to lay bare the economic law of motion of modern society—it can neither clear by bold leaps, nor remove by legal enactments, the obstacles offered by the successive phases of its normal development. But it can shorten and lessen the birthpangs.'

"Thus Marx before all occupies the standpoint of development. He is opposed to all artificial revolutionism, to all terrorism, for years he waged a vigorous literary battle against Bakunin's anarchism. The fact is, the chancellor has heard some one talk about Marx and that it is with which we are now regaled. Already in 1847 Marx said of the ten-hour-law of the English Parliament that it signifies a victory of principle. Such a man deserves everything else, except to be treated in this way. The name of Marx will still be inscribed in history with golden letters when that of Count Bulow, as chancellor of the Empire, will be long forgotten. (Laughter at the "right" and in the "centre." Vivid applause by the Social Democrats).

"Count Bulow has said that he would be a big fool if he would have signed such a secret treaty with Russia, as mentioned by White. Quite right. That I believe, too. Such a secret treaty one does not sign; such things are not put down black on white. But one acts accordingly. Why does the chancellor soelly reply to this attack of the 'Vorwaerts' and not to my accusations? I have made a long series of precisely formulated accusations. I have raised the question as to the deportation of Russian subjects liable to military duty, as to the construction on German wharves of submarine boats and torpedo destroyers for Russia and the imperial chancellor has not had a word to say in reply."

Woman and Child Labor

In an address before the National Commercial Teachers 'Association in Chicago, N. W. Ferris, late Democratic candidate for governor of Michigan, created a sensation by declaring that no woman should contemplate matrimony until she was able to support a husband. The two or three hundred stenographers present received the statement with laughter, but the speaker protested that he wished to be taken seriously. "I believe that before taking so serious a step a girl should look ahead and prepare for possible future misfortunes. Therefore every girl should fit herself to step into her husband's place in the support of the family, in the event of anything befalling him which should unfit him for work."

Put in just these terms the remark sounds somewhat sensational and revolutionary, says the "Evening Post." The speaker meant to emphasize a fact which is becoming widely recognized, that every girl outside the privileged classes not only should, but must be educated to become self-supporting. So commercialized has the world become that the privileged classes are growing smaller year by year, and the work done by woman in the home is yearly growing more constricted. Statistics are dull things, as a rule, but some of the figures contained in a recent report of the United States Bureau of Labor are sufficiently significant to make them interesting. The report gave the result of an investigation of the cost of living and retail prices in the United States, an investigation pursued in every section of the country, with the object of determining the cost of housing, fuel, lighting, food, clothing, etc., in the average American workingman's family. A similar investigation was made by the Bureau in 1890 and 1891. Reports were secured, for the present inquiry, from 25,440 families living in thirty-three States, and the occupations represented ranged from mechanics and clerks to day laborers.

Not the least interesting of the reports related to the sources of income of these families. Ten per cent. of married women, that is to say, of wives, at work is * * * sufficiently high to indicate that the workingman does not necessarily support his wife in any section of the country. In the North Atlantic States more than nine per cent. of the wives are at work. In the South Atlantic States, ranging from Delaware to Georgia, more than fourteen per cent. work for wages. In the Middle West the per cent is lower, a little more than six per cent.; while in the far West, Colorado, California, and Washington, a little over three per cent. only are at work. In all of the United States exactly 8.68 per cent. of wives are bread winners. It does not appear that these women are of foreign birth. On the contrary, more native born than foreign born wives contribute to the family income, although certain nationalities have a larger proportion of working wives. Thirteen per cent. of French wives in the United States are wage earners.

Taking boarders is one of the oldest and most respectable forms of adding to the income. No one has even pointed out that taking boarders is a form of wife labor fully as much to be reckoned with as other forms. It is work done in the home, to be sure, but so are all the tenement trades, such as flower making, finishing garments, etc. It does not of course interfere with the regular work of housekeeping, as the other trades do. It just as effectively relieves the man of the family of part of his financial responsibility. In all the United States 23.26 per cent. of workingmen's families are wholly or partly supported by the wife taking boarders or lodgers. This time it is the Irish citizen who depends most on this source of income, with the French citizen a close second. Something over twenty-one per cent. of native-born Americans take boarders. The total percentage of wives who add to the income by working for wages or taking boarders is close to thirty-two.

How far is the workingman supported by his children? According to the report, the percentage of families having an income from children at work is 22.19. This table gives an interesting account of what workingmen's children are doing at the present time:

	At work	At school	At home
North Atlantic States	4.11	77.62	17.84
South Atlantic States	11.59	63.17	23.96
North Central States	3.43	78.83	16.83
South Central States	8.31	63.31	27.45
Western States	1.16	82.65	15.98

A very small proportion are working and going to school at the same time, but it is plain that parents who put their children early to work do not take further thought of their children.

No report is made on the average earnings of the children. It is shown that child labor is not by any means confined to the South. In the North Atlantic States, including New York and Massachusetts, the percentage of workingmen who are partially supported by their children is 21.64, while in the South Atlantic States it is 28.59. The percentage is smallest in the far West, being only 14.27.

The earnings of the wives are considerable. The income of the average workingman's family from all sources is $749.50. Of this sum the wage-earning wife contributes $128.52. What the boarders and lodgers contribute is not given, but whatever it is should be credited to the wife, for she bears the burden of this work. In her earning capacity the Western woman makes by far the best showing. Her average wage is $229.83 a year, as opposed to $146.09 in the North Atlantic States.

Summarized, the report shows that the average workingman in the United States earns only 79.49 per cent. of the family income. His wife, children and boarders contribute the rest. The native-born workingman earns more of the income than the foreign-born, but it is plain that in all except the privileged classes wives and children are becoming important factors in the wage question.

Popular opinion to the contrary notwithstanding, there never has been and never will be any large class of supporting men and supported women. The workingman has always expected his financial condition to be bettered by marriage, and for this reason practically all women in the working classes marry. In the classes where the wife has to be supported, where her only contribution is a well-ordered home, only fifty per cent. of women have an opportunity to marry. In the wealthiest class, where a dowry is sure to be part of the woman's attractiveness, the same proportion are given an opportunity to marry as in the working classes.

The increase of male workers in the last ten years is given as twenty-five per cent. The increase of women wage-earners is forty per cent. This fact is attracting attention, as it should. The impression that girls and young women work for "pin money" and not for the necessities of life is gradually passing. It is admitted now that women work because they must earn their livings. The old ideal of the home is the only proper sphere for wife and daughters is hard to relinquish, but it also must go. So rapidly has the change in the industrial status of women been effected that statistics gathered ten or even five years ago are now utterly valueless. It is probable that the next bulletin of the Bureau of Labor relating to the cost of living in workingmen's families will record still more startling changes.

CAPITALIST vs. SOCIALIST ECONOMICS.

(From "The People," Sydney, Australia.)

Capital economy, whether of the small cocky capitalist on the land, of the capitalist shopkeeper, company, trust, or capitalist government, means reducing the amount of food, clothing, shelter, and enjoyment of the wage-workers, either by reducing the amount of these things to the individual wage earner, or by reducing the number of those in receipt of these things, with the noble object of accumulating the greatest possible amount of profits. Of course, the capitalist does not see the utter incompatability of these two things, and that his "vaulting ambition" is surely and inevitably overleaping itself; the increasing number of the unemployed, the increasing difficulty of finding purchasers for his goods, has merely the effect of whetting his eagerness to cut still further into his own market, by economically cutting down the purchasing power of the bulk of his real customers—the working class. "Whom the gods wish to destroy they first make mad," was never better exemplified than in the case of the doomed capitalist class. All the philanthropic efforts of these "clean" men in the patriotic cause of stable, economic and responsible government, all their noble and patriotic efforts to advance the interests of their beloved country are doomed to failure, and the only hope for this or any other country is the appropriation and complete control by the workers of the entire productive forces of the world which are slipping rapidly from the incompetent nerveless hands of the capitalist class.

Socialist or working class economy consists in decreeing, in the aforesaid collective control, in opening wide the door of every natural and social opportunity to every individual without exception who is willing to work and who is physically and mentally fit to do so, those not so fitted to be the first care of the community who will see to it that these people have the maximum amount of enjoyable human life their infirmities will permit. There are and will be plenty of means to do so, and the community will see that these means are devoted to the purpose; they will not be carted round and exhibited as now for the purpose of exciting the charity of the passer-by. The aim of the community will be to decrease the number of those suffering in this way: by drawing to the utmost extent upon the resources of civilization, science, and art, by discovering and abolishing every knowable cause of them, in short, the great item of working-class economy will be economy of human life, human suffering, and human toil, by carrying out an organized system of work for the use of and enjoyment of the worker. Toil will be reduced to the lowest possible minimum in order that the greatest amount of leisure may be available for the development of every human on the lines of healthy enjoyable mental or manual activity. There will be no need for people to starve then as now because there is too much food, or to be naked and cold because there are too many clothes, or too many willing to produce these things. The cry for foreign markets will cease and the mental and manual workers of the world will exchange with each other on an equal basis of an equal quantity of work, those good things which differences of soil, climate, and condition render exchange mutually beneficially. Class struggles will cease and the war drum be heard no more for ever. This is no utopia but realizable fact. Work for Socialism.

CONGRESSIONAL

THE DEBATE ON THE IMPEACHMENT OF JUDGE SWAYNE.

Lawyers in the House of Representatives Trying to Hold the Judge Free on the Plea that He Did Not Know the Law that He Violated—With the Workingman, Ignorance of Law Is No Excuse.

While Congress is getting under way the case on the impeachment of Judge Swayne is bobbing into shape. While so bobbing, the case is throwing up curious facts that should not escape the workingman.

There are two leading charges against Judge Swayne. The two most serious ones are the O'Neal case and the Belden & Davis case. The cases turn around the Judge's power to imprison for contempt. The power is a dangerous one, and demands strict judicial decorum. Under that power any American citizen can be sent to prison by a member of the judiciary without the safeguard of jury trial. In the two cases of O'Neal and of Belden & Davis, Judge Swayne exercised the power with utter disregard of the law; moreover, the power was exercised in these instances with palpable malice towards the Judge's victims. The statute on the subject allows a judge to inflict the punishment of a fine or of imprisonment, but not both. Upon that the law is explicit. Judge Swayne inflicted both punishments in these instances: he fined and imprisoned his victims. The action of Judge Swayne was not only in violation of the statute, it was also in violation of the decisions of the United States Supreme Court construing the clause as to whether both fine and imprisonment could be inflicted upon a person for contempt. Judge Swayne simply rode roughshod over the statute and the law.

Now, then, in spite of these facts—in the teeth of the letter and/of the interpretation of the law; despite the circumstance the accused is a lawyer, being a Judge; and above all, despite the principle so cruelly enforced against workingmen that "no one is excused for not knowing the law"—despite and in spite of all that there are lawyers in the House of Representatives who are seeking to defend Judge Swayne on the ground that he did not know that particular law against which he sinned!

A unique spectacle in a capitalist legislature. No wonder the capitalist press is silent on the "defence."

ERIE'S MUNICIPAL TICKET.

Erie, Pa., Jan. 5.—Section Erie, at a meeting held on Dec. 13, 1904, nominated the following ticket for the Spring Elections:

Mayor—Herman Spittle.

Councilmen—First Ward, Alfred Black; Second Ward, J. F. Ginginbach; Third Ward, L. Cunningham; Fourth Ward, J. Devine; Sixth Ward, C. Schlicher.

TYPOS TO APPEAL.

Will Take Corregan Verdict to Court that Decided Against Them.

Justice Andrews of Syracuse has granted a stay of the order compelling the Syracuse Typographical Union to reinstate Charles H. Corregan and pay him damage for unlawful expulsion from the union. The union was required to put up a bond for any damages Corregan might sustain by reason of the stay. The case will be carried to the Appelate division by the printers.

CORREGAN REINSTATED.

Syracuse, N. Y., Jan. 10—Typographical Union No. 55 reinstated Charles H. Corregan last Sunday. This action was the outcome of an order issued by Judge Andrews upon the application of Union for a stay of the execution of the judgment given Corregan for illegal expulsion from the union—pending an appeal. Judge Andrews ordered that the union must either give a bond to pay Corregan $7 a week from the date of the judgment until the final determination of the action or issue the card, reinstating him.

THE WEEKLY PEOPLE IS A SIX PAGE PAPER. PAGES SIX AND SEVEN OF THIS ISSUE ARE SUPPLEMENTS. WOULD YOU LIKE TO SEE THE WEEKLY PEOPLE A PERMANENT EIGHT PAGE PAPER? THEN ROLL UP ITS SUBSCRIPTION LIST, UNTIL ENOUGH READERS ARE SECURED TO MAKE THIS POSSIBLE.

THE IRREPRESSIBLE
CLASS CONFLICT IN COLORADO

The Struggle for the Eight-Hour Day—Its History, Significance and Failure, Culminating in th Capitalist Riots of 1904.

Written by H. J. BRIMBLE,
Florence, Colorado, 1904.

FIFTH EPISODE—Continued

PORTLAND MINE PRESIDENT INSTITUTES INJUNCTION PROCEEDINGS

James F. Burns, president and general manager of the Portland Company, whose mine had been shut down by the commanding officer as a "military necessity," decided to take the matter into the courts. Application was to be made to Judge Thayer of the U. S. Circuit Court in St. Louis, for an injunction restraining the governor and all other persons from interfering with the operation of the mine. Damages were also to be asked in the sum of $100,000.

As soon as the proposed action of Mr. Burns became known, Irving Howbert, vice-president and one of the directors of the company, got the ear of the two other resident-directors, Thomas F. Burns and Frank G. Peck, and made it appear as if President Burns were instituting the suit in the interest of the Western Federation of Miners. Although Thomas F. Burns and Frank G. Peck were brother and brother-in-law respectively, of the president of the Portland, and indebted to him for everything they possessed, they joined hands with Howbert and Shannon of New York, the fifth directors, and set aside the action of the head of the company. When President Burns saw that his hands were tied and that he would not be permitted to test the authority assumed by Peabody and the Mine Owners' Association in the courts, he bowed to the inevitable and withdrew the suits, addressing, at the same time, a letter to the public. This communication is so noteworthy a document that I have ventured to reproduce it in full. Burns not only sets forth his position clearly: he tears away the tissue of lies and hypocrisies in which the upholders of Capitalism are wont to drape that system, and shows us the inner workings by which it is moved. Incidentally, he throws light on the methods used by the Western Federation of Miners in the Cripple Creek district.

Before quoting Mr. Burns's letter, I would say that Irving Howbert, who did so much to kill the suit that would have placed the administration of the State on trial, is a Republican machine politician and a prominent member of the Mine Owners' Association.

PRESIDENT BURNS' LETTER.

To the public:

"On Friday last I caused a bill to be filed in the Circuit Court of the United States in the name of the Portland Gold Mining Company against James H. Peabody and others, to secure for the complainant and its stockholders the equal protection of the laws whereby its right to the operation of its mines could be hereafter, as heretofore, exercised in its own way and for its best interests. My action has been repudiated by the board of directors, a majority of whom have ordered the suit dismissed and the order will be obeyed.

"Inasmuch as the institution of this suit has provoked much criticism, I deem it necessary to call attention to the conditions which, in my opinion, demanded resort to the courts for the present and future welfare of the company. Its affairs have been under my management since the spring of 1894, and, with the exception of about ten days in 1903, it has been in constant operation until June 10, when it was closed by the military forces of the State in conjunction with the civil forces of the county. During all this long period of time the mines have been operated on the open shop principle. Men have been employed and retained for their efficiency only, and no discrimination has been made between union and non-union workmen. The unions have on several occasions demanded discrimination in their favor, sometimes under threats, but these demands have not been granted. Notices posted at the mine and the mill in conspicuous places have publicly warned all men that discrimination would not be tolerated, and that interferences with any workmen because of their union or non-union affiliations would result in prompt dismissal.

CONFERENCE WITH MINERS' OFFICERS ON PEABODY'S INVITATION.

"In March, 1903, a strike was declared against the millmen, and the Portland was included. I was in Florida. Mr. Frank G. Peck, with Judge A. T. Gunnell, and at Governor Peabody's express invitation, went to Denver and held conferences with the officers of the Western Federation in the executive offices at the State capitol. As a result they came to an agreement expressly sanctioned and approved by his excellency and all the Portland directors, wherunder the Portland mill would be continued as an open shop, making no discrimination and conducted as the mines had been under my management.

"This agreement was framed by the attorney-general, by the Governor's directions, as I remember, and his excellency was well pleased with the outcome.

"When the strike was declared in Cripple Creek last August the Portland mines, with the others, were closed. I at once instructed the company's attorneys to appeal to the federal court for injunctive relief against the Western Federation. They prepared a complaint, but before it was filed the officers of the federation came to terms and signified their willingness to proceed as before. I refused to depart from the old policy, and, as the union accepted it, I deemed it to the best interests of the company to open the mines, and did so.

ENMITY INCURRED FOR OPERATING UNDER CONDITIONS APPROVED BY PEABODY.

"This brought on my head the anger of the Mine-Owners' Association, which, though unpleasant, did not deter me from doing my duty to the stockholders. I therefore continued operations with my old force of union and non-union miners as before, regardless of the obloquy I incurred. *I was operating under conditions which Governor Peabody had himself urged and approved, and felt that I must therefore be within the law.*

"After the terrible tragedy of June 6, his excellency, for the third time, declared Teller county in a state of insurrection, and wholesale arrests followed. Many of my men were arrested at their homes, some of them were imprisoned, some banished, others fled in terror, leaving families behind them. I continued to work the mines, believeing that the best way to insure quiet was to keep the men employed. On June 10 (Burns is mistaken as to the date, H. J. B.) General Bell issued a proclamation closing the Portland mines, stating that they had for months harbored a lawless class of men, dangerous to the peace and safety of the community, and on the same day, he and Sheriff Bell, with soldiers and deputies, invaded the mines and shut them down. His proclamation ordered the arrest of the men it referred to, but none were made or attempted.

PEABODY PLEADS IGNORANCE.

"By my direction one of the company's attorneys appealed to the governor to know why the mines were closed. His excellency said that he was ignorant of the fact that the closure had been ordered. Later in the day he said that he had been informed by Mr. Crump that the company had refused to surrender lawless characters on demand. Mr. Crump having been appealed to, denied having so stated, but said that the mines were closed to rid the community of agitators, by which he meant members of the union.

"I instructed the company's counsel to ascertain whether it had any rights in Colorado that the authorities were bound to respect, and if so, to proceed to to enforce them. They did so. The directors disapprove, and I bow to their decision.

NO CRIMINALS HARBORED.

"It is wholly false that the mines or the company or that I have harbored criminals or contributed to the unfortunate disorders of the camp, and it is folly to assert that the working of the mines is inconsistent with the restoration of peace and order. As to the first, our men have been carefully selected and trained for their duties, and it will take months to secure equal services from raw recruits. As to the second, General Bell, on the day he closed our mines, issued a second proclamation calling on all mines and miners to resume their work.

"During the strike, and since last January, Mr. Moyer asked an audience with me, at which I urged him to abandon the strike and call it off, giving him what seemed to me conclusive reasons. He declined. Shortly afterwards I was informed that the union would demand my discharge of non-union miners, or compel union miners to leave the mine. I again sought my attorneys, who prepared a complaint against Altman Union No. 19, and its officers; Cripple Creek Union No. 406, and its officers; Victor Union No. 32, and its officers; Smeltermen's Union No. 125, and its officers; Charles Moyer, president, and William Haywood, secretary, of the Western Federation, to restrain them from such interferrence. The expected did not happen, however, and the suit was not filed.

"To avoid all further misunderstandings, the management of the Portland company, on March 14, publicly announced 'that in hiring and discharging of men it claims the right to hire and discharge whoever it pleases without discrimination for or against any class of labor whatever,' and that declaration has at all times been persistently respected.

NOT A WESTERN FEDERATION PARTISAN.

"I am accused of being a partisan of the Western Federation. It is untrue. I believe in an 'open shop' and have always enforced it. I am neither for nor against ogranized labor. I respect its rights, and I have required it at all times to respect mine. I believe in the freedom of contract, in the right of a man to work his property in his own way, and have practiced what I preached. But the powers that be have declared otherwise. The Portland company is a free agent no longer; it must employ men at the dictation of those who have no concern in its prosperity, and the governor is upheld in his crusade against the operation of a contract of hire almost identical with the one he urged the company to make.

"As to my management, let the mines speak for themselves. They have had ten years of prosperity, unbroken save by the bayonet. They have paid dividends with the regularity of the seasons. Its record has no parallel in the mining operations of the state, and surely the shareholders should perceive that their interests have at all times been consulted. I have no apologies to make to anyone for my course, and I believe the future will wholly vindicate it.

"James F. Burns."

CAPITALIST IDEALITIES AND REALITIES.

The ideal of Capitalism to-day is, ostensibly, the "open shop," which is the twentieth century interpretation of the principle of laisser faire. Here is a man who did his best to make the mine of which he is manager an "open shop" indeed, and, notwithstanding their windy protestations, the backers of the state administration showed conclusively that their avowed principles are for exhibition purposes only; given out for the benefit of credulous persons such as college professors and publicists afflicted with the economic treatise habit. Neither the men who have gone to the heart of the matter nor the capitalists themselves have any illusions on this point. We know that our friends who are as class conscious on the other side as we are on the side of the workers are ready to go to any length when it comes to a question of being dominant in the state.

Before Mr. Burns' letter, and the circumstances which gave it birth, a host of capitalist pretensions tumble into the dust. What becomes of a man's "right to do as he pleases with his own property"? Where is the protest of the men who howl like wolves whenever the Socialist mentions the word *"Confiscation?"* What about "No interference by outsiders"?

THE PROBLEM OF KEEPING MOYER CAPTIVE.

Judge Thayer having by this time forced the state authorities to free Chas. H. Moyer from confinment at Telluride, the question of how to hold the head of the miners' union again came up. Accordingly, Moyer was re-arrested upon a warrant sworn out by a detective in the employ of the Mine Owners' Association and taken to Teller county, where he was again jailed.

Sheriff Bell gave orders on the 18th that the relations of men confined in the county jail were to be prohibited from entering to feed the prisoners. He said that the visitors, mainly wives and daughters of the prisoners, interfered with the work of the board of inquiry then sitting in the office of the jail. At this time sinister tales of men tortured for the purpose of securing evidence against the strikers began to be circulated. When this chapter shall have been completed we may know more of the methods employed by the men bent on preserving the peace.

After being ten days an inmate of the bull pen, Frank J. Hangs was turned loose. "There was no reason given, either for my arrest or my release. I was simply taken in and let go," said the attorney, in speaking of his imprisonment.

THE "OPEN SHOP" AN OPEN FARCE.

When the Portland force was re-organized by the military, acting under orders from the Mine-Owners' Association, the understanding was that all men employed on that property were to give up their connection with the union and to take out cards from the bureau of the mine owners. Exceptions were made in the cases of certain expert workmen, who could not be immediately replaced. This was destined to give rise to another stirring incident. The war against the union was extended to the Portland mill at Colorado City, the employes there being informed by the management as to what they would have to do in order to retain their positions. A number elected to stay with the union, and, as a consequence, lost their jobs.

PEACE RE-ESTABLISHED—BY PERVARICATION.

Governor Peabody, speaking at a banquet given in Chicago by Thomas F. Walsh, on the 22nd, declared that peace had been re-established in Colorado, he having received a telegram from the acting governor to the effect that martial law was at an end and the state once more entirely in the hands of the civil authorities. Peabody has earned a reputation as a pervaricator of a high order, but he never gave a more disgraceful exhibition of mendacity than upon this occasion. At the very time that he was telling the outside world that the State was at peace, his military representatives were making the rounds of the bull pens and jails in the Cripple Creek district gathering miners for another deportation. Not only that, but the wives of imprisoned and deported miners, who were endeavoring to make a living by taking in washing, were not allowed to do so by the rulers of the district. Mrs. King reported that the electric light company refused to put lamps in the laundry established by the relief committee.

THE SILENCE OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

The silence of the American Federation of Labor upon the the troubles in Colorado became so scandalous that the shame of it at last penetrated the thick hide and thicker head of Samuel Gompers and when the Western Federation of Miners was in its last gasps in the Cripple Creek and San Miguel districts, he issued a proclamation placing himself on the side of the Western Federation of Miners, and urging union men all over the country to aid the oppressed organization. We cannot speak precisely as to the nature of the deal made between the leaders of these bodies, but it is a fact that, although the Western Federation of Miners had endorsed the "Socialist" party in its convention, and was supposed to be working for the advancement of Socialist principles, it has since adopted tactics that render its Socialistic avowals ludicrous, and which are sufficiently reactionary to be agreeable to the most time-serving of labor organizations.

It is possible, too, that Gompers was afraid that the extermination of the Western Federation of Miners would be the signal for an attack on the American Federation of Labor, and for that reason he issued his appeal to the workers of the country. Strong words against Peabody at this late hour carry little conviction of sincerity to the man who had observed Gompers' policy of silence when the members of the Western Federation of Miners were being treated like a gang of convicts, or worse.

THE LAST OF THE GREAT MILITARY DEPORTATIONS.

The last of the great military deportations took place on the 28th, when thirty-three men were sent out of the district to Denver. As of old, the officials at Colorado Springs saw to it that none of the exiled remained in that city. One of the deported men, speaking of the treatment accorded the inmates of the bull-pen, said:

"We were in the bull-pen for eight days before we were deported. The only thing of any kind that we had with which to cover ourselves at night was a big piece of canvas, which was made to serve for both mattress and covering, but we had been in there only a couple of days when that, too, was taken away from us. From that time we slept on the bare floor, and at night the cold was almost unbearable. The rations distributed were almost uneatable, and had it not been for the food brought in by our wives and daughters we should have suffered greatly, as it is probable that many did."

THE MEN WHO FLED THE DISTRICT.

Nothing has so far been said in these pages of the men, to the number of six or seven hundred, who fled the district to avoid arrest and detention. These men, it is possible, have suffered as much as the men whose privations have been recorded. To be forced to leave everything that a man holds dear in life; to be made a wanderer upon the face of the earth, proscribed and pursued by the blacklist circulated by "liberty-loving" organizations of capitalists, constitute but a small part of the indiguities heaped upon men who, in many instances, were not members of, or even sympathizers with, the union, but who desired to see justice done. Members of the Socialist Labor Party came in for their share. I may mention the case of Comrade Herbert Kempton, who, thinking that the soldiers would be looking for him, did not return home on the night of the 8th, but escaped to Florence, and lay hidden there until things quieted down. As it happened, Comrade Kempton's premonition was a true one. The emissaries of Bell did go in search of him. They ransacked the house in an effort to locate the intended victim, and as they left, one of the soldiers, angered perhaps at their failure, shot an old dog belonging to our comrade, that was lying asleep on the porch.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS PHASE OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

With the exception of the Portland case, no comment has been made upon the events of which we have treated for the reason that it was not thought advisable to break the sequence of the narrative. Now, with another series of facts, not so obvious as the first, but equally important, we shall do our best to make the import of this phase of the class struggle unmistakable. Some of the men who have treated of the stirring events of the past year seem to think that the way in which the matter should be handled is to select certain facts that are agreeable to people marked as probable patrons, and for the rest to fill out the matter with distortions, evasions, hysterics, exclamation points, the most rabid abuse of one side, and a slobbering endorsement of everything done by the other. The writer has too much respect for his own intelligence and that of his readers to do anything of the kind.

One point must be settled in advance, and that is the fact that the State administration made absolutely no pretense at an adjudication of the differences of the warring parties. It was, from the governor and the chief-justice down, openly on the side of the mine-owners, doing everything that lay in its power to advance the interests of one party at the expense of the other.

As has been seen, this most remarkable phase opens with the visit of the committee appointed by the convention of the Western Federation of Miners to the Cripple Creek district. I cannot speak as to the prospects of a settlement, except to say that the members of the committee felt greatly encouraged at their reception, and, as a consequence, looked forward to an early termination of the struggle.

COMPETITION AMONG CAPITALISTS—THE PART IT PLAYED.

Of course, the Independence explosion killed all hopes of a settlement. But I am greatly in doubt as to whether the mine-owners desired one. Many have said that they (the mine-owners) would be forced to it when they came face to face with bankruptcy. That view argued an insufficient examination of the matter. Peabody is certainly fighting the battles of Capitalism, but it is equally certain that he is owned by a clique of capitalists. These men are not worried at the spectacle of many small holders being driven in dismay from the field. On the contrary, I see a certain exultation over the situation. Two birds are to be killed with one stone. The field is to be held by the Moffats, the Carltons, such great concerns as the Smelter and Milling Trusts, and the Colorado Fuel and Iron and the Victor Fuel companies, while all manifestations of a progressive spirit on the part of the workers are to be killed, and the written law—witness the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of C. H. Moyer—made over to conform more closely with the law which we know to be in operation beneath the surface.

THE INCUBUS OF GOMPERSISM AND THE WESTERN FEDERATION.

When the Western Federation of Miners threw from its back the incubus of Gompersism and adopted partially the principles and tactics of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, it was marked for destruction by the men who are not at all alarmed at the growth of the American Federation of Labor. When the Federation showed that it intended to live up to its principles, there was the campaign of extermination entered upon, and, to speak frankly, I am of the opinion that there was little chance for a settlement on June 5th, except at a price that the W. F. M. could not be expected to pay.

THE INDEPENDENCE HORROR.

This brings us to the fatal 6th of June. The terrible event with which the day opens first demands attention. We shall not weaken our case by hurling accusations about indiscriminately. The facts and reasonable deductions are good enough for the writer. It is hardly necessary to express one's horror at the wiping out of the lives of the men who were but pawns in the game that was being played. Only a being from whom every spark of human feeling had fled, a poor being whose reason had been overthrown, could have been guilty of such a thing. The institution of Capitalism is the parent of many crimes, and the Independence affair is among the worst.

As may be seen from the facts given in the preceding pages, the mine-owners and their allies at once settled upon the miners as the guilty party. The miners and their sympathizers, in contradistinction to the position taken by the capitalists, were all for a thorough investigation. The events of the day so merge into each other that it is hard to separate them. It must be done, however, and the first question is: What had the union to gain by the Independence explosion?; and the second, what had it to lose?

To the first question we answer: "Nothing"; and to the second: "Everything." The union miners were not feeble-minded. They saw this point as clearly as we see it now. On the other hand: What had the mine-owners to gain by the explosion? and what had they to lose? The facts speak for themselves. From being a combatant on at least equal terms with the strikers, the mine-owners, by a judicious use of the prejudice aroused among unthinking and interested people against the miners by the explosion, jumped at once to a commanding position. I am not asserting, or even hinting that the Independence affair was a put-up job on the part of the mine-owners. With me it is simply a question of evidence, and that brings us to the second point: What is the evidence against the miners?

So far, the attempt upon the part of the mine-owners and the State administration to lay the crime at the door of the union men has resulted in complete failure. Although the records and papers of the unions and scores of private parties have been seized, and hundreds of men "sweated"—a very elastic term that—by the military commission and others, in the interest [illegible] the mine-owners; although the State administration and its friends

(Continued on page 3.)

Volcanic Rumblings

From Dec. 14, 1904, Helena, Mont., "Montana News", an organ of the so-called Socialist, Alias Social Democratic Party.

In the movement in Minnesota there appears to be a very strong following of the sentimental kind. In fact the editor of the News learned that while attending the national convention held in Chicago in May, by making acquaintance with some of the delegates from the state. But to cap the climax on pure sentimentalism, the following from the pen of A. Hirschfield, of Minneapolis, to the editor of the Referendum of Faribault in a discussion relative to class consciousness and revisionist ideas, is the limit:

"It is true that I supported a Democratic candidate for alderman in the third ward four years ago and not two years ago as you stated. Were the conditions the same to-day I would do the same thing over even if I had to quit the Socialist party. The party had no nominee for alderman, the Democrat had nearly ruined himself supporting the A. R. U. strikers in 1894."

After delivering himself of the above as a class conscious Socialist, he signs his name and follows it with M. D. Initials at one end of his name should be sufficient for a militant Socialiist, b barring this sentimental, capitalist humbug of following his name with letters that signify that he knows something according to a diploma, let us look at the facts in the above utterances of this doctor.

It would not be so bad, had he supported the Democrat four years ago as he says he did, but after four years of education, to assert that he would repeat the deal, is evidence of his misunderstanding of Socialism. The fact that the Socialists had no man in the field does not permit or grant the right to class conscious Socialists to vote for any old partyite. That vote was a half vote for the left wing of the capitalist party.

The Socialist who makes such assertions as the above, that "I would do the same thing over even if I had to quit the Socialist party" should be given the opportunity by this local to quit; yes, to quit at once, by request. He is not a Socialist; he is a bourgeois and the quicker the movement is rid of this class the better. When Dr. Hirschfield becomes a proletarian in fact by economic grind and goes to work on the public roads in the National Park, like a number of men with this "M. D." after their name have done, then he may begin to learn what is meant by class conscious, scientific revolutionary Socialism.

The local that permits a member after making such statements, to remain in its organization, should have its charter suspended.

What Is Capital?

(By Ferdinand Lassalle.)

II.

INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY IN CIVILIZED ANTIQUITY.

Now let us take a look at the condition of civilized antiquity. Here we already have a certain amount of division of labor and greater wealth, however small it may be in comparison with ours of to-day. But you can see, in this case, that the ancient owner of property was the combined possessor of landed property, slaves, and all the products of labor, as well as of all the instruments of labor. Is this man a capitalist any more than the Red Indian? Not at all. If you take a Shah of Persia in olden times, to whom belonged the country over which he ruled to the full extent of his will together with all the wealth and people in it, would you say that this man was "a great capitalist?" Most assuredly, not.

Just the same with the ancient owners of property. The person to whom belong, as of lawful possession, not only the instruments of labor, but the very laborer himself, cannot be a capitalist. His share of the result of the social production comes to him, not because the instruments of labor belong to him, but because the laborer himself belongs to him. The slave, by whose agency he allows the labor to be done, is only another sort of tool for him, and the tool only another kind of slave. This absence of separation and distinction has for its result that we have here masters, but not capitalists; articles of value and wealth, but not capital. You can trace this farther if you bear in mind the determining characteristics of the ancient economy.

The ancient landowner and slaveowner commanded that articles of use for his own household needs should be produced in the first place. He sold only the surplus of such articles. Or if he carried on manufacture with his slaves—an exceptional case, by the way, and one peculiar to citizens of low social rank—he sold the industrial product so obtained. With the money paid him he purchased articles of luxury for his own consumption from all the countries within his reach. But he accumulated the gold remaining over, after his luxurious tastes had been gratified for the time being, in order that he might purchase luxuries in the future. So much of it he hoarded, that is to say, as he did not use to acquire more landed property and more slaves, which served for the extension of that "natural" form of production in which he was "lord" and "master," but not capitalist. At first, and indeed long afterwards, he had no opportunity of laying out this, his gold, at interest in foreign production.

For this very foreign production was itself the natural growth of the surplus of another "natural" system of production, and did not call for the modern system of credit, which can only be set on foot in a society where values in exchange (commodities) are exclusively produced. When openings for such an investment of gold begin to manifest themselves, the moral sense of the people—public opinion—declares against it; his public opinion being in turn only the onsequence of the long continued, and, all pearance, permanent, economic ondit s just described. You can easi see why usury or interest on capital made way with such extreme difficulty against the public opinion of the ancients. You can easily comprehend why it was considered, according to their view, shameful, mean, low, dishonest, in the ancient sense, to lend at interest.

If Aristotle, Cicero, Seneca, the Fathers of the Church, and the Canon Law, one and all, consider interest on capital shameful, and meaning the same as usury; if, under the Roman Republic, the taking of interest was legally forbidden; if Cato lauds that decision of his ancestors, according to which the thief was fined twice the amount stolen, but the man who took interest four times the amount; if the Catholic Church refused to the usurer the sacrament, the right of bequest, and Christian burial; and if, on the other hand, Jeremy Bentham, and with him the whole precious school of Liberal political economists, can see in usury only the most indefeasible and "natural right" of mankind—why, henceforth, surely the reason for this striking contradiction must stare us in the face, and the discrepancy can be explained with the greatest ease.

The jurist, say the Roman jurists, "notices only what generally happens." Still more true is this of the moral views of the people which grow out of their economic conditions. They, too, notice only that which generally happens.

Borrowing went on in antiquity as it does with us. But so long as the inducement and the opportunities for investing loans in foreign production were lacking—and, as we have seen, this very foreign production was based only on its own natural economy and the surplus thence arising—loans of money were taken only for purposes of consumption. They were, therefore, incurred on account of personal neediness and embarrassment; though this embarrassment might be only that of the Roman edile, who wanted to deck the circus with purple for the public games and hadn't the necessary sum at command.*

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* In the days of small production, the usurer was simply a leech, who profited by the distress or the improvidence of others to suck their blood. The money which he loaned to others was, as a rule, put only to unproductive uses. If, for instance, a nobleman borrowed money, he did so to spend it in debauch; if a farmer or mechanic borrowed money, it was mainly to pay his taxes, or some other government dues; neither, as a rule, needed any money for productive purposes; they owned their own instruments of production, or acquired them by barter. In those days interest was considered immoral, and was everywhere condemned. — "The Capitalist Class," p. 2. New York: New York Labor News Company.

SECTION CHICAGO'S OFFICERS.

Section Chicago, Ill., at a meeting held Dec. 23, elected officers for the ensuing term as follows: Hans A. Nielsen, organizer; John Koch, recording secretary; Carl Starkenberg, financial secretary-treasurer; Tobias M. Davis, Albert Lingenfelter and Charles W. Winfield, grievance committee; Jeremiah Nagel, literary agent; A. Lingenfelter, Frank A. Barndt and Chas. W. Winfield, auditing committee.

Press agents were chosen as follows: For Daily and Weekly People, Jeremiah Nagel, 79 E. Van Buren street; for "Socialistische Arbeiter-Zeitung," Albert Lingenfelter, 874 W. Fulton street; Chas. W. Winfield, 617 W. Ohio street, and Frank A. Barndt, 765 Washington Boulevard; for Jewish organ, "Der Arbeiter," Tobias M. Davis, 142 Potomac avenue; for Swedish organ, "Arbetaren," Carl Starkenberg, 129 E. Chicago avenue. For press correspondent, Chas. W. Winfield.

Address all communications to Organizer Nielsen, 79 E. Van Buren street.

SOCIALISM IN JAPAN

"The Socialist" of Tokyo, Tells of Its Difficulties—Officially Persecuted.

Against the Government's suppression of a Socialist society, the Kobe Chronicle says:

"The Government appears to be greatly concerned whenever there is any appearance of Socialist agitation. The Socialist Society, or the Shakaishugi Kyokai of Tokyo, has just been suppressed by the order of the Home Minister, on the ground that the existence of the Society is considered by the authorities to be detrimental to the public security and order."

"Such action generally tends to extend the principles of the Society attacked. The Government ought to be aware of the futility of the efforts made a few years ago by political organizations in Japan. The principles of religious liberty adopted by Japan ought to be extended to politics, the Government only interfering when there is open incitement to crime."

Indeed, such action does not seem wise, and we believe it is better for the Government to adopt a more liberal policy on such matters. To say the truth, Socialists are steadily gaining in influence and force, in spite of the severe measures taken by the Government.

There is a considerable number of young men who yearly come from school and are unable to find work or position. They naturally join the Socialist party and hope for a re-organization of society. Unless there is some means to give them work, the efforts of our authorities to suppress their movement will be quite useless.

T. S.

PERSECUTIONS.

It is evident that the Government is determined to nip Socialism in Japan in the bud, before it bears any fruit. On the evening of the second ult., a large meeting of Socialists was held at the Y. M. C. A. Hall, at which seven leading Socialists were to speak. The hall was crowded, and when the first speaker began to speak a police sergeant immediately stopped him. The second and the third speakers were also stopped, and when the audience became excited and began to rebuke the policeman, he ordered the dissolution of the meeting, which was followed by a great disturbance.

On the sixth ult., the sale of the Heimin Shimbun, a weekly journal of Socialist propaganda, was prohibited by the Government. The journal contained many articles on educational questions. We regret that we are not allowed by law to discuss the matter, and are obliged to keep dumb about it.

On the twelfth ult., the next issue of the Heimin Shimbun was again prohibited by Government. It contained a translation of the famous manifesto of the Communist party by Marx and Engels.

On the fifteenth ult., the first anniversary of the Heimin Shimbun, a social gathering was held at Oji in the suburb of Tokyo, but it was summarily dispersed by the police. Many of the Socialists, some of whom had come to the capital from distant places with the sole object of attending the meeting, repaired to the office of the journal and intended to meet there, but were again ordered to disperse. They then proceeded to Hibiya Park in order to have their photograph taken, but the police still interfered and dispersed them.

On the nineteenth ult., Comrade Nishikawa, the editor of the Heimin Shimbun, was sentenced to five months' penal servitude and a fine of fifty yen. Comrade Kotoku, the publisher of the journal, was sentenced to seven months' penal servitude and a fine of fifty yen. The publication of the journal was prohibited, and the printing machine was ordered to be confiscated. They immediately appealed to a higher court.

On the sixteenth, the Shakaishugi Kyokai (the Socialist Society), was suppressed by order of the Home Minister. It was the only Socialist institution in Japan since the organization of the Socialist party was prohibited, and did a great deal of work during a short duration of six years in investigating the social question. Now there is no Socialist corporation in Japan, but, strange to say, the principles of Socialism appear to be spreading more and more among our people.

The Class Struggle

(By Mrs. Olive M. Johnson.)

This class wealth has a number of functions to fulfill and is far from allowed to remain undisturbed in the coffers of the individual capitalist employer. A large part must be reinvested so that the capitalist may buttress his capital and keep abreast of capitalist development. Another part is used to keep up capitalist appearances. This means not only to live well and dress well, but, moreover, to live so as to be noticed, give sumptuous banquets and social functions that will be talked about, have horses, dresses, cats, dogs, diamonds, flunkeys, private street cars, special trains, automobiles and yachts, all so grand, expensive, showy or ugly that they outrival those of all rivals. A little scandal now and then is also very useful to keep in popularity and power.

Again, from this wealth comes the share of the mouthpieces of capitalism: the editors, preachers, professors, teachers, lecturers, etc., to say nothing of the lower species, such as labor fakirs, politicians, and lackies of every description.

However, the greatest inroad on the capitalist surplus is made by the expensive and intricate system of capitalist government. First, all the functionaries from president and senators, down to the cuspidor cleaners, must have their salaries, whether enormous or insignificant; to say nothing of the boodle and the graft. Then the governmental houses of every description must be kept up, and other paraphernalia taken care of. Then towards election times conventions must be controlled and caucuses packed and the mass of the working class voters duped, and a thousand and one other things attended to.

By guiding the elections the capitalist class have capitalist robbery sanctioned every 2 or 4 years. By controlling the legislative halls they are not only able to legalize the robbery of the workers, but they can work out the details by which they can make it very systematic and effective. By controlling the judicial offices they can always interpret favorable to the capitalist class, even such laws as apparently favor the workers and which may, at times, be passed to pacify them. Finally, through the executive offices the capitalists can enforce their capitalist law, can bring the army and navy to bear upon those who would interfere with the advancement of their interest abroad and at home.

Then again an enormous surplus is drawn by the governmentaal arms of oppression and repression—the army and navy, the militia and police force, etc. All this is highly necessary, both to protect and advance capitalist interest abroad, and to control and enslave the workers at home. The police, militia and regular army are the emphatic emphasis which the capitalists lay upon the word *obedience* when addressing the wage workers at home.

These and many other expenses make a tremendous inroad on the capitalist surplus. It is the peculiarity of the capitalist system that its greatest strength is its greatest weakness—it is the old tale of the dragon whose tail destroyed what the body could build up. Nevertheless in the class struggle the capitalists have the enormous advantage of being firmly intrenched behind all the bulwarks of the government.

The capitalist government is of utmost importance to the capitalist class, it is the workshop where capitalist genius can truly assert itself, it is the place where more or less consciously the capitalist class fights out the class struggle.

Very different is the situation of the working class. Stripped of all the means of production, it has no alternative but to sell itself into wage slavery. In this slavery it receives in return for its work—like every other slave class in history—on an average only its food, clothing and shelter. Economically, it has no prestige in society. Its lot is to toil and strive from day to day.

Numbering about sixty-five per cent. of the population it owns barely five per cent. of the total wealth and this wealth consists only in articles which constitute the actual necessities of life, as furniture, clothing, household goods, and now and then, a little cottage, which, however, often is only nominally their own, being mortgaged to the uttermost. While a workingman, on the average produces $2,400 worth of wealth per annum, his average wages are $400, or one-sixth of his products.

The ownership and non-ownership of the means of production draws a sharp and well-defined line between the two classes. A member of the capitalist class is he who owns means of production and lives by profits extracted from the labor of others. A member of the working class is he who owns no means of production and earns his livelihood by selling his labor-power to a capitalist. There is no difficulty, whatsoever, in distinguishing the two.

The remark has been made that there exist mongrels whom it is utterly impossible to define, or to say as to what class they belong, as they own means of production and yet work, it is sometimes said, harder than the genuine proletarians; and, it is added that therefore no class divisions can be drawn in society. This again is the typical reasoning of the superficial. Yet, put to a test, the same sociological ninny would scarcely dare to deny that a cow is an animal and an oak a vegetable, although there exist in nature species of life on whose classification the most eminent naturalists disagree, whether they belong in the animal or vegetable kingdom is a matter of controversy with them. The case of the sociological classes is exactly parallel and affords as little difficulty.

Now the point of contact between the two classes; the point where they cannot possibly avoid each other, is when the worker in order to exist MUST sell his labor-power and the capitalists, also in order to exist, MUST buy it. There they must meet, and around that point, consequently, centers the class antagonism in modern society. It is to the working class' interest to sell as dear as possible, while the capitalist class' interest is to buy as cheaply as possible.

At this point it may be proper to make a diversion and touch upon a notion of some so-called schools of economy, that contend that the points of contact are two and the most important one is by far where the capitalist and the worker meet in the market, the former as owner and seller of his commodities, necessities of life of the workers, and the latter as buyers who must have these necessities. There they claim the capitalists to do the robbery. It is true enough that in this capacity also the capitalists rob all they can. It is furthermore true that there exists then, the necessary antagonism that always exists between buyers and sellers—namely, that the sellers desire high prices, the buyers low. But this antagonism can never develop into class antagonism, because it is not the working class and the capitalist class alone that meet in that field, it is the capitalist and the whole population, and the capitalists are not then exclusively sellers either, but buyers and sellers alternately. Therefore a capitalist may as easily be a loser as a gainer in that kind of robbery. Nor can the capitalists, either as individuals or a class, get complete control of the workers through that source; first, because the workers are not the only consumers and therefore a rise of prices becomes a two-edged sword, second, because the capitalists, even in our age of monopoly, have to compete with each other and fairly cut each other's throats in order to sell; thirdly, the workers can to some extent control their consumption, can deny themselves, can substitute the cheaper for the dearer, etc.; fourthly, and most important, if the capitalist class should take advantage of its powers as owners of the necessities of life and charge from the working class in one day, week or month what it earned in a year they would simply "kill the hen that lays the golden egg," and the natural laws that govern society forbid that. Consequently, as the workers receive only one-sixth of the products of their labor and that constitutes only on the average the food, clothing, shelter and necessary education of the class it ought to be plain that what individual capitalist schemes and fakirs of every description can rob the workers of when they go to spend their miserly wage is so insignificantly small that only the sociological rainbowchaser is visionary enough to attempt to catch the thief on these premises. The revolutionist turns his attention to the five-sixths robbed from the worker by his employer and demand for the working class the full product of its labor. The workers once receiving that, all the other "problems" and "questions" will soon vanish in the clouds.

(To be continued next week.)

AUSTRALIAN S. L. P.

The General Executive met at Marx Hall on Friday, October 28, Comrade Dobson in the chair. The "People" and Press Committee report for the week was received, and speakers for the various meetings were appointed for the month.

The committee appointed to prepare a statement embodying certain suggestions and alterations in connection with the working of the State electoral machinery, submitted a copy of statement, which was accepted by General Executive and ordered to be forwarded on to the Committee of Inquiry.

The report of Daniel De Leon, of the S. L. P. of America, of the International Socialist Congress at Amsterdam was discussed, when the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the General Executive of the A. S. L. endorses the resolution moved by Daniel De Leon, delegate of the S. L. P. of America and the S. L. P. of Australia and Canada at the International Socialist Congress at Amsterdam as being the only correct method for an honest, class-conscious, revolutionary Socialist Party to adopt as its tactics towards the capitalist system, and a real Socialist party to follow in any parliament in the world where Socialists may be elected.

Resolved, That the foregoing be sent on to the S. L. P. of America, the General Secretary to inform them also that the General Executive will shortly consider the whole matter.

THE IRREPRESSIBLE

CLASS CONFLICT IN COLORADO

(Continued from page 2.)

have strained every nerve and expended thousands of dollars in an attempt—I cannot say, to catch the perpetrators of the crime —to incriminate the union, nothing has resulted. Even their regiment of spies has failed them. The inference is unmistakable.

No attention need be paid to the so-called confessions that have been made. They are fakes, pure and simple.

The Western Federation of Miners denounced the outrage in the strongest terms, and, in addition, has offered a reward of $5,000.00 for the detection of the criminals. To this day neither the mine-owners nor the State or county administration have offered one dollar reward. On the contrary, the commissioners of Teller county, under the direction of their masters, appropriated $10,000.00 for the detection and prosecution of the criminals that are, as yet, uncaught. This fund was placed at the disposal of S. D. Crump, who thereupon resigned his office of deputy district attorney, and it is possible that a new set of Beckmans and McKinneys may be born.

Until more convincing testimony is at hand, the responsibility for the Independence explosion must remain an open question. I say this unforgetful of the fact that the mine-owners have in their employ as vile a gang of cut-throats as was ever gathered together. But, bad as these men are, there is nothing to be gained by bringing charges against them unsustained by evidence.

(To Be Continued Next Week.)

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES:

In 1888	2,068
In 1892	21,157
In 1896	36,564
In 1900	34,191
In 1902	53,763

A house divided against itself cannot stand. This country must be either all slave or all free.

—Abraham Lincoln.

BY THE ROAR OF PORT ARTHUR.

As the history of the eighteenth century centers in the great French Revolution, so will the history of our own, the twentieth century, center in the great upheaval of the Socialist Revolution. But the parallel ends there, as far as the historian's work is concerned. In writing the history of the eighteenth century the historian's work is arduous. The events, whose several streams converged towards the great central climax—the overthrow of the feudal lord and the enthronement of capitalism—are numerous, but each is also proportionally small, and they lie scattered, often even hidden from sight. It is otherwise with the events whose several streams are converging towards that greater central climax—the overthrow of the Capitalist Class and the rise of the Socialist Republic. They are fewer in number, they are proportionally of vaster dimensions, above all, in no instance are they hidden from sight or hearing. On the contrary: they fall upon the eye and they smite the ear with a light so fierce and a sound so deafening that none but the blind and the deaf can fail to see and to hear. One of these events is the astounding Japanese campaign in Manchuria, that has so far culminated in the amazing spectacle of Port Arthur.

The instruments used by the Providence that presides over the history of the human race are its own, nor does it seem to stick at the seemingly most contradictory ones. By a logic that looks like the logic of the spheres, elements seemingly the most mutually repellant supplement each other harmoniously in the accomplishment of the final end. The emancipation of the Working Class, implied in the Socialist Revolution, can only be the work fashioned by the hands of the Working Class itelf. At all points antipodal to the proletariat is the Japanese class that rules and guides Japan, and that, welding its people like a thunderbolt, has crashed in upon the stage of modern history. And yet, for all its antipodal qualities, the ruling class of Japan is approving itself an instrument that supplements the proletarian.

Infinitely more than the fortifications of Port Arthur has Nogi's cannon riven. However, unwittingly it has shaken beyond repair a whole chain of fortifications, behind which the modern international Usurper, the Capitalist Class, has for generations been entrenching itself, —Race Prejudice, Creed Prejudice, Nationality Prejudice. The despised "Yellow Race" has trampled his White would-be master under foot; every word of praise bestowed upon Stoessel implies two upon his victor; the Yellow Man has dared to "call" the Russian bluff before which the White Man had stood awed; he has turned Moscovite pretensions into a laughing stock; he has approved himself the peer of the White; and he has achieved all that while proving himself at the pinnacle of modern science and endowed with all the virtues that produce the abiding hero—patience, fortitude, valor, vigor, knowledge, magnanimity.

The world never again will be the same after the fall of Port Arthur. It is an epoch-marking event in the career of mankind. The human bond—so needed for human progress and freedom, but kept sundered by capitalism as a condition precedent for its rule of human spoliation—has drawn close. It is no slight symptom, the universal joy among the masses at the victories of Japan: it is an instinctive acclaim of welcome by the human conscience, awaked from the stupor in which capitalist morality seeks to keep it: it is the sense of relief felt by the human race at the setting of a bone long and deliberately kept by its oppressors dislocated in the race's frame.

The event that has set this pulse beating out-strips the Lawson Revelations; it takes front rank with those that are loudly and glaringly heralding and clearing the way for the grand climax that our century is to witness.

ST. PUBLIC.

Paul Lafargue has wittily described capitalist charity as robbing wholesale and returning retail. Had Lafargue had before him the report of the Senate Ship Subsidy Committee, charging the Carnegie Steel Trust with "outrage" for selling steel in Belfast for $24 a ton and in the United States for $32, and also the report that Carnegie caused to be issued just before, setting forth that his library donations amounted to $38,000,000—had Lafargue had these two reports before him he might have also defined capitalist charity as intended hush-money for plunder.

The Carnegie plunder is done in two places, upon two distinct classes—it is done in the shop upon his veritable army of over 200,000 workingmen, and it is done in the market upon his fellow capitalists. The plunder in the shop proceeds upon the lines followed by all other capitalists. It consists in allowing the workers about 17 per cent. of the value that they produce and, consequently, in appropriating 83 per cent. of the fruit of Labor's toil. The plunder in the market does not directly concern the working class, except in so far as the process may shed light upon capitalist morality, patriotism and other virtues. A leading customer of Carnegie's is the U. S. Government. Under that Government's protecting wing he thrives and is enabled to plunder the workingmen. One should think that common gratitude would induce him to treat the Government handsomely, all the more since his goods are used in the "patriotic" endeavor to defend the country. But gratitude is not the capitalist's stock in trade, and Carnegie "lays it upon" his patron, the Government: while he sells his steel abroad for $24 a ton he "soaks" the U. S. Government to the tune of $32.

As bandits are said to lay part of their robberies at some favorite shrine so as to earn the Saint's goodwill, the Carnegies realize that such a process of double bleeding as they carry on must arouse opposition. They might possibly bleed the workers in safety, but to bleed their own Government, besides, is more risky. Provision must be made against a growl. In approved bandit style, Carnegie proceeded to lay his offerings at the shrine of St. Public. St. Public, in this particular instance, is actually a third party. The plundered Working Class has no opportunity to profit by the "library offering"; and as to the ruling and governmentally plundered Capitalist Class, they do not care for such institutions, their shadow never darkens any library's threshold let alone such smaller fry affairs as Carnegie's. St. Public, in this instance, being neither of the directly plundered Working Class, nor the indirectly plundered ruling Capitalist Class, is not aware of the indirect plunder practiced upon itself; it only is aware of the donation; and it at least muffles, if it does not hush, the growl against the donor.

It now remains to be seen whether the growl in the Senate will be loud enough to be hushed by the donations at the shrine of St. Public.

POOR FELLOWS!

People who talk about "over-production," who assign that as the cause of the existing rips in the social structure and of the worse rips threatened, and who imagine that when they have said that they have said something, are such a blunderbussy set that it would seem risky ever to declare that they have reached "the limit." And yet, could there be any "beyond" to "the limit" reached by the Washington correspondent of the New York "Sun"? Writing on the American export trade this pundit says:

"While our people are generally employed and fairly prosperous, the fact remains that comparatively few of our mills and factories are operated to their full productive capacity."

What conclusion would be drawn from these premises by a thinking man other than this:

"If 'over-production' is an evil, as the writer declares, and if 'our people are generally employed and fairly prosperous' even now when 'comparatively few of our mills and factories are operated to their full productive capacity,' why, then, the only thing to do is to leave well enough alone, not to fool with fire, and in that way continue our people 'generally employed and fairly prosperous.'"

But no, the "Sun's" correspondent considers that such a state of things as "the mills and factories not being operated to their full productive capacity" is an evil that must and can be remedied by—what? Here is his answer:

"By more extensive markets outside of our national boundary lines."

Indeed? Suppose that "more extensive markets" would be a good thing, how could we fill them if it is true that "our people are generally employed and fairly prosperous"? If this latter is true, where are the large additions of "hands" to come from that will be needed in the "operation of our mills and factories to their full productive capacity"? And inversely, if, indeed, we have a sufficiency of idle "hands" to so operate our mills and factories, what becomes of the allegation that "our people are generally employed and prosperous"? A people "generally employed and prosperous" have none or a very small number of unemployed. Where the unemployed are abundant, abundant enough to operate our mills and factories "to their full productive capacity," few of them being now so operated—where such is the case, there can be no "generally employed and fairly prosperous" working class. The two things do not go together.

We care not on which of the two horns of the dilemma the "Sun's" over-production wise-acre prefers to impale himself. His fix is the ludicrous one in which ever will be found the genus "capitalist economist vulgaris" when he takes up economic questions—particularly so if he be of the species "over-production-claptrap."

THE JEWEL IN THE TOAD'S HEAD.

Credit to whom credit is due. The "Appeal to Reason" is not to be intimidated by its likes of less capacity, but no less eagerness, to use the honored name of Socialism as a trap to catch and live upon the unwary. Some five weeks ago the "Appeal" had a 3-page advertisement of a Chicago co-operative concern, puffing the thing as a necessary and practical means to demonstrate Socialism, without which demonstration Socialism would remain a theory. It was a case of swindle within swindle. A concern that promises a 100 per cent. to investors can be no bona fide affair; moreover the concern that pretends to promote Socialism by knocking on the head all the Marxian tenets, extensively illustrated by Engels, concerning the absurdity of seeking to revolutionize society by such means, behind its back, such a concern is also a fraud on the intellect, a crime upon the Labor Movement. By identifying itself with the affair, the "Appeal" became a particeps criminis in the double swindle, all the more seeing the paper pretends to be a teacher of Socialism. Here and there, a so-called Socialist party paper, less skillful than the "Appeal" in this game of gammon, raised an apologetic cry against the "Appeal". But the "Appeal" was not to be scared by any fellow dog into dropping the bone. On the contrary, it has since snapped up another. This other bone presents features of its own.

The "Appeal" of last December 24 had a half column advertisement headed "You have Worked and Voted for the Coming of the Co-operative Commonwealth"; the advertisement then proceeded to address the "Comrades"; it asked: "Do you want Socialism?" And answering the question in the affirmative, proceeded to tell them how—"send money order for $10" to a certain woolen mills co-operative colony somewhere in the West; finally, as befits the thing, it closed with the pontificial blessing and endorsement "of the Socialist party Local of Albuquerque", Wm. Bryce, Rec. Sec. Nor is that all. In the "Appeal's" issue of last December 31 the advertisement is renewed under the heading "To those Who Believe in Co-operative Ideas". This second advertisement is in a nature of a write-up. The president of the co-operative concern tells of a visit he paid in Girard, Kansas, to the "Appeal to Reason"; of how he found the staff "were actually all wearing clothes (no wings)" as he had expected from certain objections that some Socialists had raised to his advertisement; of how, in fact, he found that the staff "had their feet firmly planted on this earth (not in Utopia or heaven)"; and of the jar he felt, in view of the complaints against his advertisement, at "finding Socialists demanding that the press should not be free".!!!!!

This caps the climax of insidious villainy engaged in by the "Appeal to Reason" in conspiracy with these advertisers and endorsed by "S. P." Locals. The reasoning therein used is forged in the smithy of capitalist chicanery to dupe the workers.

Capitalist is the reasoning that a revolutionary movement must be first practically demonstrated before it is carried out.—Upon that principle the feudal King George would still be in possession of the American Colonies. They would have had a, to him, delectable time trying first "practically" to demonstrate their independence before establishing it.

Capitalist is the frame of mind that would use against the Labor Movement the Socialist's love for freedom by seeking to make appear that the objection to anti-Socialist teachings and lures in the columns of its own papers is a demand to shackle its press.

Utterly petty bourgeois is the sneak-thief scheme of seeking to pick the slender pockets of workingmen. There may be some redeeming feature in the bold highwayman who holds up a train and plays for a high stake. The sneak-thief, the Fagin, is unspeakably contemptible.

Finally, at this time, when Socialist Sense is breaking through the crust of the stupidity of Gompers "pure and simple" Unionism; at this time when the theory, born of the embrace of Gompers Unionism and Capitalist deviltry, that "Capital must be fought with Capital"; —at this season co-operative schemes are trotted forth with their "pure and simple" plans to overthrow Capitalism with the Capital of co-operative pennies wheedled out of workingmen's pockets, and the scheme is endorsed and advertised by S. P. Locals and press!

All praise to the "Appeal to Reason" for its unblushing persistence in floating such "advertisements". The Socialist's delight thereat is that of the surgeon who sees the foul matter in the patient's system gather to a robust boil's head, sensible to feeling, to sight and to smell, ripe enough to be lanced.

A "PUBLIC" BUILDING.

Opposite the Daily People Building a monumental structure raises its proud marble-and-granite many-story front. The building is just finished and is about to be occupied. It is a public building. The common designation of "public" conveys the idea of something for common use. If this "public building" is a little more closely looked at, it will be found to be a monumental ocular demonstration of the class nature of modern society, of the fact that the government is of and for the property-holding class, of the fact that the propertiless, or working class does not count—in fact, the very circumstance that that particular structure is called a "public" building accentuates the fact that under capitalism the working class counts so little that it is not even considered a part of the public.

Prisons, legislative halls, State Houses, Federal White Houses and Capitols—all these and similar structures need very thorough probing in order to reveal the fact of their class character. It requires a pretty thorough knowledge of social science to penetrate the false mask of "public" that such structures put on. It requires nothing more than average common sense to penetrate the mask in the instance of the building in question.

The building in question is called the Hall of Records. What records? Let the disposition of the several rooms, as just published, answer the question.

"Rooms 1 to 8 inclusive in the basement and the first floor are for the use of the Department of Taxes and Assessments".—The working class has no property to assess; it has no property on which to pay taxes. While taxes are wealth, and all wealth is produced by the working class, and, consequently, taxes are paid out of the product of Labor's toil, nevertheless, the taxes are paid out of that part of the product of Labor that Labor is plundered of in the shop. Taxes are paid out of the plunder that the capitalist has levied upon the working class. They are paid by the capitalist class.

"Second and third floors and rooms 3, 4, 5, 6 and the southerly portion of room 7 on the fourth floor for the use and purposes of the Register".—In the Register's office the real estate transactions are entered, both purchase and sale, and also mortgages on land and chattels. The working class has no money to buy land, no land to sell, consequently no real estate mortgages to raise or take, and as to its chattels they are not valuable enough for registry in the Register's office: the workingman's chattels, when mortgaged, are registered in dingy pawnbrokers' shops. Those are the Register Offices of the Working Class.

"Room 1, 2, 8, 9 and the northerly portion of room 7 on the fourth floor, and the fifth floor for the use and purposes of the Surrogate's chambers".—The Surrogate concerns himself with property left by the dead. The workingman's estate never goes through the Surrogates' chambers. The Surrogate Judge and his pursuivants would not wipe their feet upon that.

In short, for whom is the Hall of Records? For the capitalist class. Who is the "public" for whose benefit the costly building has been raised? The capitalist class. The working class is simply not "in it".

Such, if carefully examined, is the nature of all the "public buildings" of capitalist government.

"The Sun," in an editorial entitled "Farm and Factory," shows that the value of farm products increased from $1,960,000,000 in 1870 to $5,000,000,000 (estimated) in 1904; while the value of factory products increased from $4,200,000,000 in 1870 to $15,000,000,000 (estimated) in 1904. These figures lead "The Sun" to state; "Mechanical development has far outstripped agricultural progress. Trade and manufacture are our dominant interests, and agriculture is their handmaiden, supporting them, but also supported by them." These figures, together with the comments upon them, are respectfully submitted to those who still believe the traditions that the agricultural interests are the backbone of the country. A handmaiden is not the backbone of the family she serves; nor is any set of interests that serves as a handmaiden to the dominant interests of a country, the backbone of that country.

LOW SUCCEEDS PORTER.

The capitalist revolution against feudalism was in its spirit essentially heterodox, non-conformist, indeed, iconoclastic. It is substantially true that that was the first revolution recorded in history that sent veneration to the dogs, that not only cut off the head of royalty but that was essentially deicide. "Reverence" was a word not to be found in the dictionary of capitalism. That was the time when capitalism was the "under dog". That time has changed, it is past; and then, as now, when it has become the "upper dog", capitalism proceeds in the matter of "Reverence" upon the principle that Irreverence

is young ambition's ladder,
Whereto the climber-upward turns his face:
But when he once attains the upmost round,
He then unto the ladder turns his back,
Looks in the clouds, scorning the base degrees
By which he did ascend.

Having now attained the upmost round, capitalism now turns its back unto the ladder of Irreverence. Its cue, now, in the day of its supremacy, is exactly the opposite of what that cue was in the day of capitalist subjection. In the day of its subjection, capitalism experienced the Reverence that its feudal masters and their accessories demanded of it to be a weapon in their hands against it, and it resisted the weapon; to-day, in the day of its supremacy, capitalism seeks to profit in its own interest by its experience in the past: at every turn it seeks to arm itself with the weapon of Reverence, in turn demanding for itself the reverential awe and admiration of the modern "under dog"—the Working Class. And to a great extent it has succeeded. Just as one time, the bourgeois looked up awe-stricken at his seigneur, now the wage-slave looks up awe-stricken at his capitalist plunderer. Now as then, however, there is behind the mask of sacred and deserving superiority nothing but the hideous features discovered behind the veil of the Veiled Prophet of Korhassan. Nor should the the day be distant when the modern "under dog" will make the discovery, just as did the former "under", now "upper dog". The capitalist class is itself piling on the evidence.

The embassy of a nation like this to a nation like France is a post of no mean importance. It requires vast learning and special knowledge on international law. The man to fill such a place should be one far above mediocrity. That post is now to become vacant, and who is pitched upon by the President to fill it? Seth Low. Mr. Low is a gentleman of no intellectual training. As a rich man's son he has had the opportunities of schooling. But as sunbeams can not be extracted from cucumbers, even by the best appliances and means to-boot, neither could great degree of intelligence be extracted from the college-boy Low. He grew up and took charge of his father's vast property, during which period there was no call for him even to reveal capitalist intelligence. The property could be run on the intellectual plane of cutting coupons. In point of literary ability Mr. Low is common place; in point of acquired knowledge he is insignificant. Not even the opportunities afforded him by his two Mayoralty incumbancies developed any quality in the man worthy of note. How low his intellectual plane is was painfully illustrated during his office of President of Columbia University. He filled the place on the plan of a country school, and as a member of the Hague Congress he was simply laughable. Now this is the man chosen for the embassy to France. What does it mean?

Marx points out that "the leadership of industry is an attribute of capital, just as in feudal times the functions of general and judge were attributes of landed property." In other words, during feudal times it was the ownership of landed property that elevated a man to positions of high distinction, and not his fitness for the office. Property took the place of fitness and knowledge. Likewise to-day. The Marxian passage, to the effect that it is the ownership of property and not fitness that turns the capitalist into a "captain of industry", may, accordingly, be extended to Mr. Low's case and cover also positions of distinction filled by capitalists.

Of course, the mutton-headed landed proprietor of feudal times who became a Judge found it necessary to gather around his person a certain superstitious reverence. Without that his court would have been turned into a circus. And so to-day, when the Lows are elevated, thanks to their property, to positions of distinction, we find all the mouth-pieces of capitalism engaged in the effort to conceal the fact of what the lever of promotion actually is. Were the secret out touching this lever, the same as it is out with regard to feudal days, the capitalist class would to-day be what the feudal class has become—a nuisance abated.

Along the skirmish line of the Labor Movement one of the skirmishes turns around the veil that conceals the worthlessness of the Capitalist Class. The out-posts of Capitalism seek to keep up the veil and to keep it in repair: the out-posts of Socialism are tugging at the veil and rending it to shreds.

For sublime gall commend us to Sam Gompers! Despite the fact that the soft coal miners, the steel and iron workers, the meat packers, the cotton mill operatives, the machinists, the car builders, and other large representative trades unions connected with the A. F. of L., have been compelled to submit to wage reductions ranging from 5 to 50 per cent. since the beginning of the depression, Gompers, in an editorial anent the work of the San Francisco convention, unloads the following on the readers of the January "Federationist":

"The emphatic re-indorsement and declaration of the policy to resist reduction in wages will go far to demonstrate a new principle in the economic and social life, not only of our own people but of all nations. If closely and faithfully adhered to, it will give the labor movement of America the leadership of the world, and will demonstrate beyond a doubt that the old policy of the employers of reducing wages as a relief from industrial reaction is economically fallacious and socially unsound. Organized labor has shown and will show how wise is its policy and practice of preventing the curtailment of Labor's power of consumption."

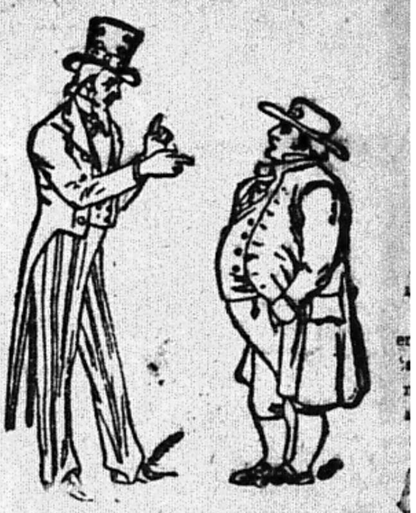
One has only to read this exhibition of brazen audacity to know why Gompers is loved by the capitalists: his statements coincide with all the "prosperity", "wages have gone up more than prices", etc., claims they make in the face of the sweeping wage reductions imposed by the industrial depression.

From Lansing, Mich., comes the report that the Retail Implement Dealers' Association, in convention assembled, "are devising ways and means of getting even with the catalogue houses which have greatly injured their business." They are inducing manufacturers to boycott the catalogue houses. The idea of the retail dealers, with their comparatively paltry trade, "getting even" with the catalogue houses, with their vast demands for manufactures, by means of a boycott, has considerable pathos about it. It recalls a story of a weak-minded farmer who, worsted in litigation with a railroad, took certain retaliatory measures against it. He sought to interfere with the operation of the railroad whenever he could. On one occasion he drove his team and wagon across the track right in front of one of its fast-moving express trains. Friends who attended the funeral of what could be found of the late departed, unanimously agreed that his method of "getting even" was heroic, but vain!

The New York Herald hails the speech of the Countess of Warwick at a meeting of the English Social Democratic Federation as "one of the many evidences that Socialism is making progress among British working classes". The Countess is a member of the "King's set", being one of his especial favorites; she is a society leader, and horsewoman, besides being the possessor of 23,000 acres of land in Essex County, where she resides in Warwick Castle; in short, the Countess has all the qualifications and possessions usually found among British working classes, thus establishing beyond doubt, the correctness of the Herald's observation.

According to English despatches 1905 will be a critical time in the world's history. Fears for the destruction of the world's peace consequent upon the disruption of the Russian Empire, are entertained by leading European statesmen. The whole Eastern problem may be opened anew, in that event; and the nations interested in its settlement to their own particular advantage, are likely to cause grave trouble. In these days when foreign markets are a necessity, nothing better than international war can be expected. Remove the necessity by removing the system of labor exploitation which creates it.

"The Tacoma Daily News", for Monday, Dec. 26, 1904, gives a prominent place on its front page to a double column article headed "Salvation Army Feeds 800 In Tacoma." The article, which describes the Christmas doings of the Salvation Army, opens with this statement: "Eight hundred unfortunates, out of work and without the price with which to purchase a Christmas dinner, were the guests this noon of the Tacoma corps of the Salvation Army." This statement makes an interesting contribution to the discussion now going on as to the condition of the labor market on the Pacific coast. It confirms the conclusion long arrived at by Pacific Coast workingmen, to wit, that the Pacific Coast has more labor than it has jobs for. Workingmen from the East who go there in the expectation of being welcomed by vacant positions, are doomed to experience a rude awakening. The vicissitudes of the unemployed will be their lot.



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN — I have been reading up on the class struggle.

UNCLE SAM—That's good.

B. J.—But I find it too narrow.

U.S.—How would you broaden it?

B. J.—The strict class struggle draws the line between wage earners and capitalists.

U. S.—Correct.

B. J.—I don't think that's right or sound. The line should be drawn between the toilers and the non-toilers.

U. S.—For instance.

B. J.—The clerk of a groceryman is a toiler, but the groceryman himself toils also. Under the strict principle of the class struggle, the line is drawn between the two, placing the clerk on one side with other workers, and the toiling groceryman on the other, and together with the Depews, Vanderbilts, Goulds, Count Castellans, etc. Now that is all wrong—

U. S.—How would you fix it?

B. J.—I would place the toiling groceryman on the same side of the line with all other toilers, whether wage earners or not, and on the other side the idlers and spongers.

U. S.—If you did so you would pretty soon get all mixed up; just as mixed as if you placed the strawberry and the daisy in the same botanical family. The two grow close to the ground, etc, yet they belong to two wholly distinct families. Again, the strawberry grows on a lowly bush, the apple on a stately tree; upon your principle of classifying the toiling groceryman separately from the Vanderbilts, you would put the strawberry and the apple in different families; fact is that they are of one and the same family.

B. J.—You don't say so!

U. S.—Yes. The mouse is a litle animal, the elephant a big one; you would classify them separately; yet the fact is that the elephant and the mouse are one family.

B. J.—(With increased astonishment) —Yes!

U. S.—Yes. What determines the kinship between plants and animals is, not appearance, but some fundamental fact that typifies them. Now, the fundamental fact that typifies the toiling small groceryman is not his toiling; other people toil with whom you would not rank the toiling groceryman; pickpockets toil and toil hard. The fundamental fact that typifies the toiling groceryman is that he is in possession of property, whereby he can, and does, just as the big capitalist, squeeze labor out of another human being; and the typifying feature of the groceryman's clerk is that, being stripped of all property whereby to earn his own living, he is bound to sell himself to the man who has such property. It is upon such lines that the economic classes are separated. To blur that line is to open the doors for all sorts of false steps; hence so many "reform" parties that jump up and collapse.

B. J.—Yes, yes; and yet it seems to me that the groceryman has a hard time of it.

U. S.—No doubt; and yet no harder than many a pirate who, being caught, was hanged to the yardarms of his own ship. If the groceryman has sense—and what is said of him is said of the whole middle class—he would simply throw in his lot with the proletariat, but to do that he must accept proletarian economics, instead of doing what the middle class now try to do, to join the proletariat by forcing upon it middle class economics—"coal planks a la Democratic party", "public-ownership of public utilities", etc Only then is there help for the sinking middle class.

B. J.—H'm! I now see it in another light. This middle class want to lie together with the proletariat, provided the proletariat is willing to lie inside the stomach of the middle class. Eh?

U. S.—You got it now.

"Where is the new gold going?" asks a financial newspaper. This question is not likely to worry the working class. Its members see so little of the old gold, that they feel mighty certain that the new gold is not going their way.

Watch the label on your paper. That will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third the year.

LETTER-BOX

A. G. W., BROOKLYN, N. Y.—That date is otherwise taken up.

P. K., DALLAS, TEX.—1st. All the living European languages, including the dead, Greek and Latin, descend from the Sanscrit. Others besides.

2d. "Dyed-in-the-wool" may be rendered in German "waschecht." The two words, however, are not identical. They take cognizance of the same central fact from different view-points.

D. G. J., LOUISVILLE, KY.—The "revolutionary feeling" is valuable; it is inestimable; but it is not all-sufficient. Revolutionary feeling alone without the elemental knowledge of Socialism is like a strong fire under an empty pot—nothing to cook, and the pot will crack.

F. W., NEW HAVEN, CONN.—No, it is not true. The S. L. P. does not "take De Leon's views." More than once has the S. L. P. taken a view just the reverse of De Leon's. Some of these times, we may even incline to the belief that most of these times, De Leon's turned out to be the better view, other times not. The S. L. P. is essentially democratic. But, now, we will carry the war into your Africa. Just look at yourself in a glass when you make the charge. You will notice the charge is not against the VIEW; the charge is against the MAN who advances the view. The charge makes no argument against the view, which may be the very best in the world. The charge's poise is that the view may be good, and yet it must be opposed. Such a poise breeds social gangrene.

R. F., COLUMBUS O.—An instance to show that the "Volkszeitung" coterie knows no economics or sociology? Shall give you several. First, its articles on taxation in the spring of 1899. They claimed that the workingman pays the taxes, and they sought to bolster up the error with idiotic statistics to the effect that the Spanish war tax had raised the workingman's family's tax $100. Second, on sociology, they fused with the Greenbackers. A long article could be written on that crew's mental incompetence, to say nothing of its downright corruption.

A. S. S., ST. LOUIS, MO.—The pest of superficiality with the superficial teachers of Socialism is even worse. Not only does superficial teaching leave the masses in ignorance, but it incites a dangerous, cock-sure feeling of conceit. To stick to the illustration. The man who hears a locomotive defined as "the thing that makes the train go," imagines himself in but too many cases a past-master of engineering and mechanics. Such conceit interferes with his acquiring of real information on the matter. Just so with the man who hears or reads some vapid criticism of Capitalism, or some loose-jointed Socialistic principle, and is told that that is Socialism. Such matter is easily understood though it is not Socialism. The man's vanity is pricked. He imagines he now KNOWS Socialism, and the conceit will interfere with his buckling down and learning. On top of that, of course, comes something else—malevolent hatred for the Movement whose literature makes him feel he knows nothing. All of which is injurious to the Movement. But these are all problems that the Movement has to break through.

A. K. C., MADISON, WIS.—Why not stick to the psychologic argument? There is a fatality that pursues the poor man. He whose income is barely sufficient, finds no visible encouragement in saving and husbandry. Just because men are not angels, barely sufficient wages fatedly breed deficits. It does not lie in the mouth of one who claims Socialism is practicable only by superior beings to blame workingmen for lack of husbandry and superior qualities. It is to demand angelic qualities under conditions that make angelic qualities impossible. Moreover, "husbandry" is a petty bourgeois virtue. Economics establish the fact that, under capitalism, the workingman's wages tend to and must decline seeing that he is a merchandise, an un-Trustifiable, un-cornerable merchandise, at that, above all a perishable merchandise.

D. W., SHEBOYGAN, WIS.—Our advice on a method of education? Start a reading class. Take up first the serial of Eugene Sue's beautiful historic novels that the S. L. P. has been issuing in English. You need historic foundation for the grasping of Socialism. These stories furnish the grasp in matchless form.

Then, take up the English translation of the 33d edition of Bebel's "Woman." That takes a cut across lots along a specialized line, and in its course handles the whole Socialist question.

Read these aloud at your reading class, and discuss what you read. Of course, read privately and simultaneously The People, which handles editorially all these questions by the light of modern events. Then read the other S. L. P. pamphlets and the works recommended.

F. F. O., PORTLAND, ORE.—Thou raisest a question that toucheth the nerve that aches—"how to reach the masses of the workers who are too tired to read, and too ill-informed to understand, if they do read?" Of such is the bulk of the working class, hence the seriousness of the question. If Socialism is preached to them in writing, they can not understand; if they understand what you write, you must have ceased to preach Socialism. Hearst's papers and the "Appeal to Reason" illustrate this point. This being so, the only solution is: Preach Socialism in writing and depend upon the more favored of the working class to understand that, and to "carry the news" to the less favored by word of mouth and personal conversation. With these less favored masses, all that the written propaganda can do is to fan the spark of the revolutionary feeling.

L. I. R., NEW YORK—Lady Warwick was at the Amsterdam Congress. We have it upon good authority that during her stay at the Congress she was dogged everywhere by Mr. and Mrs. Hyndman. Also from good English sources we have this statement: "It is not clear whether the woman is a sincere but hysterical humanitarian, or merely an aristocrat enjoying a 'new sensation.' There is one very loathsome feature about her public appearances, and that is her practice of coming before working class audiences rigged out in ermine and blazing with jewels."

M. M., GRAND JUNCTION, COLO.—You will find the S. L. P. Presidential vote for 1900 at the head of the editorial column in the Weekly and the Daily People. It has stood there for the last four years, and was placed there as soon as ascertained definitely—34,191. The S. L. P. Presidential vote for last year is not yet definitely ascertained, except that it will be at least nearly 34,000—substantially what it was before.

W. J., BISBEE, ARIZ.—You will be sent a copy of the Weekly People of Oct. 22, containing an editorial entitled: "The Time for Twaddle Is at End." Probably you have not seen it. Does not that answer your question?

R. B., VANCOUVER, B. C.—First—The ten cents postage enclosure was either not enclosed, or dropped out in the opening. Never enclose loose stamps; they drop out unperceived in the litter of paper on the floor of an editorial room. Always paste them on end. (All others please take notice).

Second—The type-written matter is much too long for publication at present, when long serials are going through the paper. Should like to keep it for eventual use. Will that do?

J. S., PHILADELPHIA, PA.—There is no "theory" in the matter. A long editorial article from the Volkszeitung was translated in these columns in which the substantial assertion was made that the Socialist press could not be owned by their party because it was safe only in the hands of the Germans—Volkszeitung Germans, of course.

J. S., KANSAS CITY, MO.—The premises of the chairman of the Karl Marx Committee are false, or defective. If, in 1902, a certain "number of workers," with certain "facilities," working with a certain "intensity of application" and a certain "labor time" produced eight hundred million bushels of wheat, then it is either impossible for the SAME "number of workers," with the SAME "facilities," the SAME "intensity of application" and the SAME "labor-time" to produce only four hundred million bushels of wheat, or the first equation is defective by the omission of some element or elements necessary to enable the elements mentioned to produce the eight hundred million bushels of wheat. Either the original equation (1902) is false in the elements that it quotes, or it is defective in omitting other and necessary elements in the computation. If a certain A, plus a certain B, plus a certain C, plus a certain D, equal X, then the following are inevitable conclusions:

First—That A, plus B, plus C, plus D are all that is necessary to produce X;

Second—That the SAME A, plus the SAME B, plus the SAME C, plus the SAME D can be equal only to X;

Third—That if the result is half X, then either the A, or the B, or the C, or the D, or several, or all of these magnitudes in the second equation is, or are, not the SAME, but inferior to the corresponding magnitude or magnitudes in the first equation; or

Fourth—That the original equation is defective: that, besides the A, the B, the C and the D, some other magnitude has to be added in order to produce X.

This being established, the next thing is to ascertain where did the error slip in. We shall now proceed from the premises that the totals, or results—X in 1902, half-X in 1903—are correctly stated. The magnitudes "number of workers" and "labor-time" are arithmetical: no error can slip there. As to the magnitude "intensity of application" that is not so completely arithmetical: serious errors of estimate may creep in there: if only these three magnitudes —"number of workers," "labor-time," and "intensity of application"—needed to be considered, and their joint result is X in 1902, and in 1903, half-X, then the conclusion would be inevitably that the "intensity of application" was less in 1903 than in 1902. Assuming, however, that the "intensity of application" was the same, we then come to the magnitude "facilities." This term is not technical, it may mean a variety of things. If by it is meant "mechanical" facilities, then that magnitude is virtually arithmetical and allows of little chance for error. Upon these suppositions, the first equation must be pronounced defective. Defective because it leaves out of consideration an important magnitude—climatic conditions. If the four magnitudes of the equations are correct, the circumstance that they produced X in 1902 and only half-X in 1903 would be proof positive that the climatic conditions in 1903 were inferior to those of 1902. If, however, by "facilities" is meant climatic conditions, then the equations are both false. Climatic conditions are not arithmetical, and least of all are they ascertainable beforehand. They are frequently ascertainable only by the result.—In view of all of which the premises in the case are false.

There are just two sorts of value—use-value and exchange-value. Exchange value is a variable magnitude. It varies according to the amount of SOCIAL labor crystallized in and requisite for the production of a commodity. The exchange-value of a bushel of wheat, for instance, does not remain the same, it varies according to the amount of social labor necessary to produce it. If climatic conditions are unfavorable, one bushel of wheat absorbs more social labor than if the climatic conditions are favorable. In the example before us, a bushel of wheat would have in 1903 double the exchange value of the bushel of wheat in 1902.

W. R. P., CAVENDISH, IDAHO—There is no work extant on the history of Socialism in America. That part of the history of what may be termed Marxian Socialism, that is, practical Socialism, Socialism-that-means-business, and that preceded the founding of The People in 1891, now lies scattered and has to be gathered. That part that followed the founding of The People is to be found in the files of The People. That part of the history of what is vaguely called Socialism in America and which consisted in "co-operative colonies" and the Fourier wave, is compiled well in Noyes' "American Socialisms." A member of the Volkszeitung Corporation, Mr. Morris Hilquit, alias Moses Hilkowitz, issued recently a book to which he gave the name of "History of Socialism in the United States." The first two-thirds of the book is cribbed from Noyes but greatly inferior to Noyes' book. The rest of the book, or the bulk of the rest, is a newspaper tirade against the S. L. P. and newspaper puff of the Volkszeitung Corporation conduct. The book has no historic value.

J. B. F., TUOLUMNE, CAL.—Understanding by "Ancient History" the history of Greece, Rome and the empires that preceded them, we would recommend to you Rollin's "Ancient History" for the period preceding Greece and Rome. It is a French work; has been translated into English; it is not large; with all its imperfections, it is unexcelled. For Greece and Rome advice is more difficult. There is no history of the two nations written since and by the light of the great work of Lewis H. Morgan on "Ancient Society." All the histories of Greece and Rome make a botch of the gens. With that warning, you may take Grote for Greece, and for Rome Mommsen and also Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire."

E. G., ST. LOUIS, MO.—The only thing that to-day holds most of "the weather-beaten and paralytic pure and simple Unions together" is the worst thing possible—their insurance branch. It deprives the body of aggressiveness against the employer and of resoluteness against the corrupt Union officers.

F. R., SAN ANTONIO, TEX.—And now to your seventh and last question: "If, as Marx says, 'money is only loaned to the poor,' why can't some means be found for bringing the barefooted tailor and ragged shoemaker into harmony, by having the trades unions furnish capital enough to employ them without profit, rent or interest?" We give it up. Don't understand you. Can't imagine what connection Marx's words have with the plan.

L. P., LYNN, MASS.—Now for your third question: "Does the S. L. P. stand for personal rights of the individual in their full sense, or does it claim that the State has superior rights?" Understanding by "State" the only thing that can be meant by the word under the Socialist Republic we shall say: The phrase "personal rights of the individual in their FULL SENSE" is a contradiction in terms under civilized society. Civilized society implies organization and co-operation. Personal rights of the individual in their FULL SENSE can exist only under savagery. For instance, an individual has the right to get drunk, but if the community does not relish the sight of a drunkard reeling on its streets, bumping against its members, and committing drunken nuisances on its public highways, that community's administrative officers have a right to cashier the drunken individual, although the streets are as much his as anybody else's and although he may have contributed as much as anybody to building them. The officers of the community would there be interfering with part of the worthy's personal rights "in their full sense" and the officers would be right.

J. C. M., FALKIRK, SCOT.—First—Right you are! It was a ghost story. The Japs may allow the Russian officers to leave Port Arthur with their side arms and may now be fraternizing with their former enemies, but the only manner in which the S. L. P. will allow the Kangaroo A. F. of L. betrayers of the working class to get out of their inevitable Port Arthur will be with the rope of America's Working Class's condemnation around their (the Kangaroos') neck, to be hoisted on the gibbet of the execration of America's Socialist Movement.

Second—We have seen no S. L. P. man "curled up" about the vote. As may be judged from the "Volcanic Rumblings" column, the "curling up" boot is on the other foot.

Third—The parallel arrived but not the other book.

P. O. V., ITHACA, N. Y.—"Credit" is an essential condition to the capitalist. Hence much of what seems only ostentatious display is a necessary outlay, without which the individual's credit would be impaired.

"X. X.," NEW YORK—The Massachusetts shoe factories in which Tobin and Sieverman sent scabs against the workingmen on strike were, in Lynn: G. W. Herrick & Co.; Watson Shoe Co.; Harney Bros.; Walton, Logan & Co.; D. A. Donavan & Co.; Morse & Logan; Geo. E. Nichols & Co.; Thos. Corcoran & Sons; Arthur E. Gloyd; W. H. Tuttle; and Geo. D. Merrill Shoe Co. In Haverhill, H. B. Goodrich & Co.

O. S., NEW YORK—First—The coinage of twenty-cent silver pieces was discontinued by act of May 2, 1878.

Second—The coinage of two-and-a-half gold dollar pieces (called "quarter eagles) has not been discontinued.

O. M. J., OAKLAND, CAL.; I. T., CHICAGO, ILL.; W. O. U., PHILADELPHIA, PA.; L. D., PUEBLO, COLO.; B. E. I., NEW YORK; M. P., LONDON, ENG.; A. J. R., TROY, N. Y.; E. D., NEW YORK; A. K., DETROIT, MICH.; N. H., JERSEY CITY; P. H., ST. LOUIS, MO.—Matter received.

SECTION OFFICERS.

Section Louisville, Ky., elected officers for the ensuing term as follows: James Doyle, organizer; Frank Giffey, corresponding and recording secretary; Louis Fleischer, financial secretary; Emil Guth, treasurer; Thomas Sweeney, librarian.

Agent and correspondent for The People, Albert Schmutz; for the "Socialistische Arbeiter-Zeitung," Lorenz Kleinherz.

State Executive and Campaign Committee, Kleinherz, O'Hearn, Meyer, Ulrich, Sweeney, Doyle and Metz.

Amusement Committee, Kleinherz, Ulrich, Baur, Schild, Sweeney, O'Hearn, Fleischer, Meyer, Guth, Metz, Schmidt and Kurruss.

Auditing Committee, Kleinherz, Ulrich and Schmutz.

The regular business meeting of the Section will be held every first Saturday of the month, 8 p. m., at Beck's Hall. All other meetings will be held on Sunday afternoon as heretofore.

Albert Schmutz has been chosen the National Executive Committeeman for Kentucky.

Section Hartford, S. L. P., at its meeting, January 5, elected the following officers for the ensuing term:—Organizer, Louis Newhouse; treasurer, A. Rossmeisl; financial secretary, J. Kunpitsch; recording secretary, August A. Rein; auditing committee, F. Knotek, Joseph Newhouse, and Fred Hagg; grievance committee, Fred Fellermann, A. Gierginsky, and W. Mentze; literary agent, Fred Fellermann; People agent, Fred Fellermann; Arbeiter Zeitung agent, Joseph Rossmeisl.

If you receive a sample copy of this paper it is an invitation to subscribe.

CORRESPONDENCE

STAY AWAY FROM CALIFORNIA.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—As the Eastern press is now flooded with news of "Help wanted in California" I enclose a sample from the "Times" showing how much labor is needed in California. I know that California has not work enough to supply her present population, all assertions to the contrary notwithstanding.

T. Rinden.

Los Angeles, Cal., Dec. 27, 1904.

[Note—The enclosure referred to above talks of the distress and want of a family of five, whose head, a paper-hanger and painter, was unable to secure employment. It is too long for reproduction.—Ed. The People.]

VIEWS OF A CONVERT.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I am a new member of the Socialist Labor Party, having joined not long ago. I didn't know much about S. L. P. Socialism at first. I did know somewhat about that of the S. P., but it seemed like a sweet poison that made me ill. Sometime before election I heard the right kind of Socialism on the streets of Columbus. It was so much to my taste, that I kept on getting more, until now I have the whole pot. I wonder why people can't understand the difference between falsehood and truth. Sometimes really good men with sense cannot find the right way. But truth will find them in spite of themselves.

As for our "small" vote I think it is good as it is. It will go up when times are ripe. Just comes from principle and conviction. Other votes come from lack of judgment and knowledge. Then a good many people couldn't and wouldn't vote. A good many workingmen cannot stay long enough in a place to acquire the right to vote, while a good many are disgusted with politics.

Let us always look to a tree for its good fruit. One rotten apple, if accepted, may spoil the sound ones. May everyman who is able, shed his light in a manner that will properly ripen the fruit. We will be strong and healthy as long as we keep clean. E. B.

Columbus, O., Jan. 1.

THE MOVEMENT IN MILWAUKEE.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Section Milwaukee is at the present time in prosperous circumstances. Never has there existed such harmonious relations between the comrades, nor has such a general acceptance of our principles been noticed. The Section has a fine meeting place, which is open every evening after eight o'clock, and which our friends and sympathizers, as well as the comrades of other sections, are invited to attend when in the city. It is situated in a thriving centre, in Lipp's Hall, at Third and Priaries streets. All our meetings are held here.

The Section has secured considerable from our new addition, viz: the Hungarian comrades. Their organization numbers twenty good standing members. Some of them have the ability to do public speaking and writing. A recent article from one of them, in "Nepakarat," the Hungarian S. L. P. organ, about the last election, shows that they fully understand conditions and are in accord with the principles and tactics of the S. L. P. The Hungarian comrades meet at party headquarters, Lipp's Hall, every first and second Sunday morning of the month. At their last entertainment they realized seventy dollars. This shows the existence of considerable interest in our cause among their countrymen.

Section Milwaukee will issue, within a few days, a leaflet in the English and German languages, in which the position of the S. L. P. will be taken up and expounded; but its chief purpose will be to expose the means employed by the capitalist politicians to stifle the voice of the noble champion of labor, the Socialist Labor Party. This leaflet will be scattered throughout the State. Those in sympathy with the Socialist Labor Party are urged to spread this leaflet. Address Socialist Labor Party, Lipp's Hall, Third and Priarie streets, Milwaukee, Wis.

H. B.

Milwaukee, Wis., Dec. 29.

HUMORS ON WHINES.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The Socialist party paper "The New Yorker Worker," which is carried in the pouch of the Volkszeitung corporation, has had its delicate irritability stirred up by one of its party members who asks why they are so slow about starting the proposed daily. He says to "The New Yorker Worker" "Look at the De Leonites, they started their daily in much less time, and with much less money than you have already collected and are still running it. It looks to me as though the comrades in charge of the Call project were culpably negligent."

You can imagine the peanut "system" that runs the Volkszeitung getting together, pricked again by that most troublesome thing, the Daily People. They dare not answer their enquirer's question with the directness it deserves, instead they hope to stifle him and all other "nosy" members by saying "Yes, the De Leonites started an alleged daily with only five or six thousand dollars, and it has a circulation of about three or four thousand, consisting of copies bought by their members for free distribution. We could do that but it would be very foolish." Sure it would, there would be no fat salaries in such an enterprise as that. The "answer" further insinuates that the Daily People is not a newspaper because it is not eight pages and filled with telegraphic news. "There is nothing in the Daily People, anyway." Other deserving victims of the Daily People lash have said somewhat similar things, especially when to their sorrow something WAS found in it, and nowhere else, that they would have given a good deal had it not appeared.

The "Call" will not be issued, says the kline "system," until $50,000 is in hand, and about one-third of it has been raised. No doubt if they ever near the figure set, it will then be found that $100,000 is needed, and the time to start will be —when the two parallel lines meet, that is when the supply of money equals the voracious demands of the Volkszeitung.

They certainly selected a fitting name for their proposed daily. A call has been issued for fifty speakers to go before the unions hat in hand for funds. Fifteen speakers have already responded and the Daily Call—for money will resound at union meetings.

Perish the thought that any of the Daily Call fund is diverted to the Volkszeitung. In this same issue of "The New Yorker Worker"—January 1, 1905 —the statement is made that the Volkszeitung is run at a profit and part of the profit is devoted to meeting the deficit of "The New Yorker Worker." That the ratio of Volkszeitung "profits" and Daily Call contributions keep even pace is merely a coincidence.

That the Socialist party membership is not taking much stock in the early appearance of the daily is apparent by the action of the Kings County Committee. They have decided to contribute $25 to the fund now and $500 payable thirty days before the date of issue of the paper.

In this same issue of "The New Yorker Worker" is a wail from the "Iowa Socialist" giving vent to dire forebodings at the springing up, mushroom-like of new "Socialist" papers all over the country. The demise of the Florida Socialist is also chronicled; and the wailer, I see, has itself gone up the flue. This then is the kind of thing they call the "Socialist press"; compared with it the Daily People is a fort on a hill, impregnable not only because of its position but also because of the invincible men behind it—the undaunted members of the S. L. P. J. H.

Jersey City, Dec. 31.

GO THOU AND DO LIKEWISE.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—We, the undersigned subscribers for the Weekly People, desirous of supplying said paper with good, strong working capital, advance two dollars each to renew our subscription to said paper for four years. Each of us further agree to secure at least two subscribers for the Weekly People during the next four years. We hope other subscribers throughout the country will go and do likewise.

S. B. Hutchinson, L. L. Crisman, J. E. Kucera J. A. Cannell, N. S. Johnson, Nelson Pritchard, J. U. Billings and Oscar Ross.

Grand Junction, Colo., Dec. 24.

"A GOOD ENOUGH SOCIALIST."

To the Daily and Weekly People:—In last Sunday's People I notice a Letter Box answer to one, who says The People is hard to understand, compared with the papers of the Socialist party. The answer given is in line with the trite adage that "There is no royal road to learning." In order to teach a science it must be taught, in order to comprehend a science it must be studied.

This Letter Box answer brings to mind an interesting and instructive experience that I had during the last campaign. Early in the summer I came in contact with a man, a member of the union of his trade, who approached me on "Socialistic" topics. For a while I laid low just to see where he stood. Then quite innocently I asked him if he had ever read any S. L. P. literature. No, he had not, but he read Wilshire's Magazine regularly. To test what he really knew about the Socialist movement I asked him what particular feature of it impressed him the most, nor was I surprised when he gave me as an example of Socialism the post office, "which carries a letter anywhere without discrimination to rich and poor alike." He would like to see that principle applied to all business.

I asked if the postal facilities are not vastly superior in the business and bon ton districts to what they are in the working class districts. He hesitatingly acknowledged the truth of this, but switched off by saying "Look at the letter carriers, ain't they better off than if working for a private company?" I called his attention to the fact that there are three or four organizations of postal employes, all seeking to better the condition of the postal workers, and that a perusal of their papers showed that the conditions under which postal employes toil is far from the ideal he dreamt they were. He didn't know anything about that.

Next he flopped into milk distribution a la "Merrie England," the waste of time and effort, all of which the consumer had to pay in supporting so many milk dealers. I tried to make it clear to him that the wastes under capitalism were of no concern to the worker, that capitalism would take care of that; calling his attention to the fact that one big company (the Borden) is already building up a monopoly of the business, not only here, but in New York and Brooklyn.

Several talks that I had with him were all of the same tenor. Like all S. L. P. men do I combated his errors, but did not pound him or call him an ignoramus. I tried to clear him up, gave him literature but all to no effect. Perhaps it was through his trade union training, but anyway he was thoroughly saturated with the theory of opportunism—the philosophy of ungettable crumbs. The S. L. P. wants too much, and will get nothing, was his conclusion, yet he acknowledged that the crumbs he was after were fading farther and farther away. One of his favorite expressions was "There is good and bad in everything and everybody." In Colorado the miners were to blame, Peabody was to blame. The miners were too high-handed, Peabody too autocratic, nor could I make him see the underlying forces that moved both sides.

After a while I gave him up, but just before election met him, and he told me that he had talked about what I had said with a member of the S. D. P., who I think he said worked in the same shop with him, and that gentleman had advised him to pay no attention to S. L. P. men, as they were only fault finders, and sore heads, and he further assured the man of whom I am speaking that he was a "good enough Socialist," and I have no doubt but his vote went to Gene; we didn't desire it, as it stood for nothing. J. H.

Jersey City, Jan. 4, 1905.

MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL COMMITTEE.

Called to order by the Secretary in Section Everett's headquarters, January 1, 1905. Comrade Engelhardt was elected chairman pro tem.

Comrade Mortensen was elected a committee on credentials. He reported on the following credentials: Section Boston, C. Burnham and Joseph Shugel; Section Lynn, W. Deans and R. Murphy; Section Everett, L. H. Engelhardt; Section Somerville, A. Mortensen.

Moved and carried that the delegates be seated.

Voted, that the temporary chairman be made permanent; also that he act for the ensuing term.

Voted, that Comrades Engelhardt and Sweeney serve as a committee to draw up by-laws to govern the body.

Voted to accept the following bylaws:

Regular meetings shall be held on the second and fourth Sundays of each month, at 11 a. m.

Five members shall constitute a quorum for committee meeting.

All delegates shall present their membership cards the first meeting of each quarter to the chairman.

That the result of general votes shall be tabulated and ordered printed in the Weekly People.

That in no case a member of the committee shall be permitted to receive or count his own vote when a candidate or delegate for office that has to be submitted to referendum vote.

Voted that we adopt the order of business in use 1904.

Voted that the election of committees be put over until next meeting. Secretary instructed to notify absent delegates to be present.

Voted that communication from committee of 1904 be brought up next meeting.

Voted that all literature turned over from Agitation Committee of 1904 be given to the new elect.

To meet Sunday, Jan. 8, in Section Boston's headquarters.

JOHN SWEENEY, Secretary,
55 Temple St., Boston.

Watch the label on your paper. That will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third the year.

Are We at Bulgaria or Italy?

I.

I am unalterably opposed to Comrade Ollendorf's proposition that the S. L. P. appoint a conference committee in company with the S. D. P. I repeat the words of old Liebknecht: "No compromise". The Socialists of America are not fighting for a Republic in place of a Monarchy. The field here is clear for a bold front against the capitalist class. If the S. L. P. will commit itself to such a proposition (which I doubt) the day of clear cut Socialist teaching will be at an end in this country.

Columbus will furnish abundant proof in support of this assertion. The S. D. P. here admitted to their local recently, a candidate for the Legislature on the Democratic ticket last year. He delivered a speech before them last Sunday, demanding "government ownership." This man's name is Armeringer. The Press Post, a strong supporter of Hearst, refers to Armeringer as "Comrade". Local Columbus seems to regard the Press-Post as its official organ. It permits a newsboy to come into its meetings and secure subscriptions for this Hearstian sheet.

Another sample of the "Socialism" of Local Columbus is Dr. Adel. The doctor has been a "Socialist" for fifteen years. He told me that during that time he voted for Bryan twice and the Prohibition ticket several times! He favors the city ownership of the electric light plant. I once asked him "what effect would the city ownership of the electric light plant have in abolishing the wages system?" "Why," he answered, "would not the working man enjoy the lights!"

Armeringer told me he was opposed to the S. L. P. because it believed in protecting the workingmen with the militia and the police during a strike. "Such injustice," said he; "why it is ridiculous!" Dr. Adel told me he was opposed to the S. L. P. because the S. L. P. would not permit its elected representatives to vote with Republicans and Democrats on some of their measures, provided they would give in return a complimentary vote for such a measure as the Referendum, for instance!

By such men is Local Columbus run! If we united with them we would have to do as they do or be expelled as disturbers.

Comrades, the S. L. P. can never unite, nor will we unite, with that compromising, BOSS RIDDEN party, known as the S. D. P.

Otto Steinhoff.

Columbus, O., Dec. 9.

II

With great surprise and bitter sorrow, I read the discussion under the above head now going on in The People. It appears to me as if some comrades were greatly alarmed over the big Bryanistic or Hearstian vote that the S. D. P. received at the last election. As an old member of the S. L. P., having gone through the bitter school of experience that every class-conscious S. L. P. man has gone through, I can see no cause for alarm and therefore no reason for any unity talk.

Comrades let us reason together and not get hot in the collar about expressing our opinions about matters that involve the cardinal principles of our party. Let us see how unity would work. First of all whom are we to unite with? Ask the comrades possessed of such poor memories as to forget who are the men that are at the helm of the so-called Socialist party? Have the comrades forgotten the scabby deeds of the leaders of that party? Have the harmony and unity preachers taken into consideration where the so-called Socialist party derives its sustenance from? Surely not from the wage-working class; for if the wage workers who do support it only knew of its scabby and slimy history they would spurn it with contempt. We of the S. L. P. are aware of the facts. We have been hurling them into the faces of our enemies. Yet some of our best known comrades dare to bring unity up for discussion in the columns of The People.

I have been a member of sections in various parts of the country. I had the fortune to know the best celebrities of the many-named party. And I say right here that I would absolutely refuse to shake hands with them. I have refused to do so in Seattle, San Francisco and Los Angeles. Should unity ever come (and I know it will not) I would immediately sever my connections with the S. L. P. and give it up as a bad job.

I fully agree with the few comrades that have already spoken through the columns of The People not to be disheartened or scared by a seeming defeat. Spread our party press, and the intelligent workingmen will learn true principles and tactics. When we have accomplished that then there will be no more room for a counterfeit like the present S. D. P.

N. Y., Dec. 13. David Rudnick.

III.

The discussion among our comrades in The People raised by Comrade De Leon's flash-light "Enrico Ferri and Bulgaria", is certainly commendable as it serves to test the opinions of the comrades regarding what is called unity. However, it seems to me that some of the comrades are straying wide of the mark.

In his flash-light on the conditions in the two countries, Bulgaria and Italy, Comrade De Leon points to the fact that a Socialist movement, after it has passed through a clarifying rupture, may, in the course of events, reach a stage where unity would be imperative. This, to my mind, would imply that, the movement being clarified, all the elements coming into this category would unite to carry on straight, clean, revolutionary agitation for the realization of the final aim—Socialism.

Comrade Olive M. Johnson thereupon very logically urges thorough agitation, by spreading party literature and by inviting all the elements that justly "belong to us", whereby the Socialist Labor Party would necessarily grow stronger. She also argues against any prejudice towards individuals of the so-called Socialist party and claims justly that danger lies in the inability to reach the workers, as, in this way, the principles and tactics of the Socialist Labor Party are either entirely unknown or they are misunderstood. The Socialist Labor Party stands upon well defined ground and all it needs is effective agitation, whereby the working class should be reached. This, in my opinion, is the aim of Mrs. Johnson.

Comrade G. Ollendorf, however, mistakes Comrade Johnson's summons to agitation for a call for unity and by suggesting committees to work out plans for uniting the Socialist Labor Party with the S. D. P. goes wide of the mark.

To me it seems quite absurd that such a desire should at all be possible. After all the hardships our members have gone through to put the Socialist Labor Party on its present foundation, it seems absurd to think that some should wish to unite with those misleaders who sought to disrupt the Socialist movement and to destroy the Socialist Labor Party. Those misleaders who are the very life of the S. D. P. are either too ignorant to see that the tactics of the Socialist Labor Party are the only true tactics for the working class of America, or they are too dishonest to admit it.

While our doors, aye our hearts, are open for the rank and file of the workingclass, regardless of what political party they were affiliated with, I do not see how there can be any talk of "unity" between a revolutionary movement and a movement that is forever compromising.

Recognizing as we do that the attitude of the Socialist Labor Party is correct, we can only expect that, if there is any honest person in the "Socialist" or Social Democratic party who knows our position and is willing to admit it, that person come into our ranks and help us spread true Socialist principles among the workers and in this way bring about the final emancipation of our class all the sooner.

It seems strange indeed, that Socialist Labor Party men should be carried away by the incident that the Debs' party has increased its vote, knowing, as we do, and as some of the S. D. P. people themselves know, that this vote was far from being a Socialist vote.

If, as Ollendorf claims, this vote has been attracted by the Debsites as a supposedly Socialist movement then our work should be all the more concentrated in pointing out this error to the distracted of this party, as well as to those of the other political parties, the workers, who constitute the bulk of the voters of every other political organization.

Our aim is the abolition of this abominable system—Capitalism. No milk and water reforms however attractive, however enticing will do. No compromising with a "Socialist" party that is compromising with the very class we strive to annihilate. No uniting with a "Socialist" party whose tactics are a contradiction to the very essentials of a revolutionary Socialist movement.

We must strain all our efforts to make the principles of the Socialist Labor Party known to the toilers of this country, whose conditions, together with our own we are striving to improve.

Spread Socialist Labor Party literature broadcast! Teach the members of our class Socialist truths, and show them the road mapped out by the Socialist Labor Party to the realization of these truths. Once the workingmen will know and understand our aim; once they will know and understand the true cause of their misery and the way out of it, they will not be fooled with, they will not be mislead. Victory for our class will then be certain.

Conditions in this country are not identical with those in any other country, for this reason our attitude here can not be the same as those abroad. If, however, conditions in America should be ripe for decided action on the part of the workingclass every honest revolutionary member of this class will find room in the Socialist Labor Party.

It is really amusing to see the analytical review of the situation by Comrade DeLeon misinterpreted as "flirtation". How can anyone suspect that Comrade De Leon woud be courting unity with an element that has been continually denounced by the Socialist Labor Party? Such courting, were it at all possible, would indeed put the S. L. P. on "dangerous ground", as this would mean that the pure name of the S. L. P. is being dragged in the mud of fusion.

"Let us then be up and doing", comrades. Educate! Agitate! Anywhere! Everywhere!

Jennie Carliph.

New York, Dec. 13.

IV.

I am sure that the correspondence under the heading "Are We At Bulgaria Or Italy?", must interest every member of the militant S. L. P., and with hope that I may not transgress upon the valuable space of The People, I would like to add my quota to the discussion.

To take up Comrade Ollendorf's letter, he falls foul of one of the truths of Comrade Olive M. Johnson, "that if the S. L. P. cares not for a single vote behind which there stands not a clear-sighted, intelligent and class conscious proletarian," and places against it the portion of the platform dealing with "all other citizens", then proceeds to make a distinction between proletarian and middle class men in the ranks of the S. L. P.

Taking up this distinction made by the comrade, the question might be asked are we against a middle class man entering the S. L. P.? The answer is, no; but the middle class man, if he stands firmly on the wage worker's revolutionary ground, is no longer a middle class thinker, but a proletarian thinker: he does not enter the fight because he feels for the wage worker and out of his largeness of heart deigns to lend his powerful help in the fight. There can be absolutely no catering to vanity in the honest middle class man who enters the revolutionary struggle under the banner of the S. L. P. He throws aside forever his middle class "success" aspirations and becomes "a clear sighted, intelligent and class conscious proletarian". In my opinion this truth of Comrade Olive M. Johnson is of a certainty very much truth.

Comrade Ollendorf then deals with the thousands who have been attracted by the S. D. P. at the past election and thinks that thereby the tactics pursued by the S. L. P. have been proven inadequate; that the agitation carried on by the S. L. P. was most energetic. You just bet it was, but does the comrade realize what we are up against? Arduous and long indeed is the fight of truth against prejudice and ignorance (capitalism) and their powerful fortifications, but the Socialist Labor Party is a revolutionary organization whose tactics, read by a revolutionary light, are sound, whose solid foundation is truth. Are we to compromise our strength so that "votes" may loom large in our election returns? Well, no; I gues not. The S. D. P. way is easy and the burden is light; but the S. L. P. beacon light will keep steadily burning nevertheless.

Again the Comrade suggests a committee meeting between the S. D. P. and S. L. P. to talk unity. Has the comrade ever seen a cat and dog tied together by their tails? Unity: the rank and file will unite with the S. D. P. when truth, driven home by the S. L. P. propaganda, leaves them no alternative but join the only class conscious political party of the wage workers, the fighting S. L. P.

In the comrade's last paragraph we hear the true ring, at least it may be summed up in the words: agitate, organize and educate: speak the truth however unpalatable it may be, realizing that a revolutionary organization fighting for freedom damns itself if it does not antagonize enemies of freedom, and who is it that pours the vials of their wrath upon the S. L. P. but labor misleaders, capitalist hirelings, fellowshippees, etc? This is proof enough that the S. L. P. is correct in its tactics.

To quote Comrade Berry "on general principles I am opposed to mongrels anywhere and everywhere especially in the political, (aye and economic say I) movement of the working class."

James M. Reid.

Toronto, Can., Dec. 15.

V.

Under the above heading, in the issue of the 8th inst., I find a protest from Louis M. Weider, cautioning the editor of The People from flirting with the S. P. or S. D. P. He seems very much worried over the matter, all of which we must expect though we may not agree with it. If the comrade would look to the N. Y. Sun of the same date, where he will find an editorial headed "Two kinds of Socialists", he might find an answer from the front rank of the enemy, which seems to delight that there must be two kinds, and that they must spend their time making war on one another.

He refers to Bryan's radical element as something prominent, and that every one in the Socialist Labor Party must know Socialism from A to Z. Now, on both propositions I must disagree with the comrade. If we do our duty and do it thoroughly. That a political party must be of all kinds of human nature and that our leading men must be to a great extent a composite of the whole, is natural. What we need most is to get the enemy on the serious fighting line, and also to put the labor fakirs in an embarassing position, if such a thing is possible, and now while that contradictory bunch of hairbrained ambitious office-seekers, backed by other people's barrels when in a fight or scattered to the winds, we who have learned by our own party's fight and have also learned the S. P. and have seemed to draw closer from each other's blows, can and should now unite, if we can do so on strict lines.

I for one don't think that the S. P.'s 390,000 voters are so foolish that they are just waiting to come back to Bryan IF WE DO OUR DUTY. If we don't then they are justified in going back to anything, when we don't reach a hand out and show that there is but one enemy, the common enemy. I think Mr. Debs has run a perfectly natural road from Utopia to Science, and that he is more self-willed than we thought. He has kept going ahead and just now is in the critical period of his existence. The S. P. needs the S. L. P. now if ever it did, and though we can get along without them we can benefit just as much. There are enough intelligent drilled Socialists now for the Socialist movement to allow a few into its ranks who are not familiar with Marx's Capital. But we must keep up the education and that's what we will gain from unity.

Comrade De Leon's work in attacking the fakirs is a monument to him, and if he is flirting with the S. P. then I think him far from all the personal enmity that he is supposed to be guilty of, and younger is his spirit and more willing to do for Socialism anything to advance it than any man in the party.

Patrick G. Campbell.

Oswego, N. Y., Dec. 9.

VI.

"Bravo Comrade Hossack"—you have expressed the sentiments of Duluth's comrades on this subject of 'Unity".

Yours for uncompromising working class politics.

E. J. Quin,
Theodore Zollner.
G. W. Hellstrom.

Duluth, Minn., Dec. 12.

VII.

The interrogation point at the end of the caption that has appeared over several articles which have lately found space in the Daily People, would seemingly imply that the comrades of the S. L. P. were at a loss to know just where they were at. And that same interrogation point must have come as a rude shock to the many comrades who like myself, noted with great satisfaction the tone of determination which rang through every line of correspondence printed since the elections. A determination to pursue the fighting along the same lines at all hazards.

And close upon the heels of the interrogation point comes a comrade with a plea for a committee to exchange views with the Debsites. How would he like to exchange views with a committee composed of say, T. Hickey, J. Carey and G. Hoehn? 'Tis possible the Kangs would hand us something like that and what is more we would deserve it.

Are we at Bulgaria or Italy? Well if I mistake not the temper of the rank and file of our party, the "flirters" be they great or small, will be quickly apprised of the bright and balmy land we are at.

Methinks we can oppose a Berry, a Wieder, or a Hossack, aye a hundred of them to every Ollendorf that may spring up.

Some may think that this is pretty plain speaking but I believe we should use none but the plainest terms in writing on a question of such vital interest and refrain from penning ambigous sentences which serve only to provoke discussion as to their real import, as witness the different constructions placed upon the statement of our California comrade who opined that "it would be as stupid to now stay in Bulgaria as it would have been dangerous to have gone to Italy before our time." Let us state in common every day English just what we mean, and leave the parables to the sky pilots.

Fraternally,

W. Fay.

Minneapolis, Minn, Dec. 15.

VIII.

To-day's mail brought to California the Daily People, with Comrade Ollendorff's letter, under the heading "Are We at Bulgaria or Italy?" and as it is seemingly built upon mine on the same subject, I feel that the readers of The People ought to be informed that there is little or nothing in it with which I can agree.

First as to my alleged outrage against our platform and policy in saying that "we want no vote behind which there does not stand a class conscious proletarian," Comrade Ollendorff's attack is absolutely unwarranted and unfounded. Those who were present at the 11th Socialist Labor Party convention, those who read the report of the Illinois delegation, know that I stand squarely upon the Party's policy as to "other intelligent citizens who have certified to their intelligence, their honesty of mind, etc." Any one who is not what Comrade De Leon so pointedly calls a knipperdolian could easily perceive that what in this connection is meant by a vote "behind which there stands a class conscious proletarian," is meant a vote behind which there stands a person clear upon the class position of the proletarian. And the votes we don't want are the votes of the members of the working class caught by snares and delusions, such as old age pensions, public baths, and what not—in short, such votes as the S. D. P. is continually hungering for. As reasonably should Comrade Ollendorff ask when I say, "It is the duty of every S. L. P. man," upon what authority I exclude the women? The one idea ought to be as easily understood as the other and it is a shame to be obliged to take up The People's space for such simple explanations.

Further the Comrade thinks that I am a victim to an illusion when I say that our policy is understood by the clear sighted politicians of the Hanna type. Does Comrade Ollendorff for one minute believe that when Mark Hanna said the Civic Federation was welcomed by all except the "scurrilous Socialists" that he had in mind the "Socialists" who at evry opportunity bend a humble knee to Gompers & Co.? I happen to know that The People has for years been read and discussed in the most advanced political clubs in the nation. Of course, we ought not to "exaggerate our importance," but it is as bad, if not worse, to underrate our influence. That Socialism is gaining respect is an undenied fact, and that it is Genuine Socialism and not the vote catching twaddle that is gaining it, who can doubt?

Now as to the real tenor of Comrade Ollendorff's article. He says he agrees with me "that there cannot be any flirting, association or compromise with the S. D. P.," and then, to my great astonishment, proposes—lo, not that we should flirt, that is much to mild; but that we should fall lovingly into its arms! Deliver us, if anything like that can be drawn from my article let us have it burnt at once! But I hope our Comrades have better understood it.

If, as according to his proposal, we should send a committee to negotiate peace with a similar one of the S .D. P., is it not absolutely plain that such a committee would come in contact only with the leaders of that Party, the machine, the very thing we must avoid like poison? In such a case we would yet be a thousand miles away from what we wish to reach—the awakening of the rank and file of the Party.

What I meant to do in my article was simply to endorse the policy of The People—that of both the editorial and business management—in attempting to reach the rank and file of the S. D. P., the former by opening its columns to the complaints of the rank and file and by editorials and other articles to spread the light of true Socialist tactics before these people, and the latter by pushing our literature into their ranks. And further I desired to call attention to certain abuses of our policy that existed, not in the editorial department, but among the rank and file of our Party. The speeches of Ferri and Bulgaria furnished a splendid historic background for this, and I furnished some concrete examples from home.

As to De Leonism, I say again that what our enemy—maliciously if Comrade Ollendorff will have it, and of course it could not be otherwise as they bear malice, indeed—have termed De Leonsim is S. L. P. ism, is the honored and clear policy of the S. L. P. The abuse of it, or as it was put in the former letter "the running in the ground of it," has not come from the outside but from the inside. It started with the onerous campaigns of Hickey and his associates and its tendency is strong in the party to-day.

To "speak Socialism and Socialism only," is an ambiguous term much abused by the S. D. P. and silly sentimentalists. What we want is to speak S. L. P. ism and S. L. P. ism clear, clean and undefiled. It is that which makes us formidable even in our smallness. It is that which has made us recognized even by those who wished to ignore us. It is in short, the only reason for our existence at all, and any one advocating the giving up of it, I fear will not have a pleasant time in the Party.

Olive M. Johnson.

Oakland, Cal., Dec. 13, 1904.

IX.

In reading Comrade Ollendorff's comment on Mrs. Johnson's article "Are We at Bulgaria or Italy?" a member of the Socialist Labor Party is at a loss where to begin, so much or rather so little is there to say. However, let us consider his first point. He says "that Mark Hanna, when he designated Socialism as the coming foe of the Republican party had not the S. L. P. but the S. D. P. in mind." If a shrewd and clear sighted politician like Hanna feared the election of a Carey of Haverhill, Mass., of a Johnson of Chicago, or of a Berger of Milwaukee, methinks he were anything but a clear sighted politician. The party which propagates the "unconditional surrender of the capitalist class," etc., such a party, although not an electing party, as yet, is the party the capitalist class watches.

The capitalist class was never very much troubled about the "giant" organization of the A. F. of L., but when the S. T. & L. A. was launched, which sinks into nothingness when compared numerically with the A. F. of L., Senator Perkins of California, read the Declaration of Principles on the floor of the U. S. Senate, saying, "this is how workingmen are beginning to organize now." This goes to show that the capitalist class does not watch the parties that "elect and influence elections," but the parties and organizations standing on firm and unshakable principles.

It seems to me that of the five cardinal truths enumerated by Mrs. Johnson the strongest and most characteristic is the fourth, "that the S. L. P. cares not for a single vote behind which there stands not a clear sighted, intelligent and class conscious proletarian." Comrade Ollendorff considers this a stultifying position to assume. It leaves out the "middle class," says he, the "intelligent citizens" the platform calls upon. Why our comrade should assume that by intelligent citizens is meant the middle class, is a mystery to me. Would a body of S. L. P. men, deliberately invite the middle class to vote for their party, invite the middle class, a class which has always used the working class as a cat's paw, because the latter did not understand its interests? No! The Socialist Labor Party is organized for the emancipation of the working class, to lead the working class to victory when the hour to strike has come.

By converting the large majority of the population more and more into proletarians, the capitalist mode of production creates the power that, under penalty of its own destruction, is forced to accomplish this revolution." We want no votes so that the Hanna type politicians will recognize and fear us, we want to educate the working class to know whence its misery and slavery comes, to know where lies its salvation.

Katie Eisenberg.

Cincinnati, O., Dec. 18.

X.

I take the liberty of entering the discussion regarding unity of the S. L. P. with S. D. P., in order to emphasize one phase of the matter which seems to have escaped the attention of the comrades.

In doing so I may be putting the cart before the horse, as the saying goes, but in my opinion the most important question just now is not of unity, but of tactics. By tactics I do not mean the official actions of the S. L. P. as represented by its officers, but the tactics of quite a large portion of the membership of the party acting as individuals.

Comrade Ollendorf remarks in his letter about the habit of party members in writing letters to the Daily People full of abuse about the S. D. P. and the editor out of regard for his office and in deference to their wishes publishing such letters.

I have also noticed this matter and have protested against it, but it seems to delight quite a few members of the S. L. P.

Is it absolutely necessary when reporting about an S. D. P. or an S. L. P. meeting to see how much personal abuse you can crowd in about the members of the S. D. P.?

Time after time these letters, instead of giving useful information about the speaker go into little details about his personal appearance and that of the audience.

It is one thing to tell about the character of people and another thing to criticise their personal appearance; a thing over which most of us have no control, nature having had had her say first.

I do not say that some of the comrades deliberately lie in these letters, but I personally know of quite a few instances where they have stretched the truth to the breaking point.

A lie at first glance appears to be a powerful weapon, but when it is used against Truth it acts as a boomerang against its user, and I for one do not think the cause of Socialism will be helped by the comrades exaggerating in their reports to the Daily People.

This is but one part of the question of abuse. There is still another part and that is the action of party members at S. D. P. meetings.

To go to S. D. P. meetings, to ask questions in an orderly manner and to distribute literature of our party is morally, and perhaps, legally proper and right. But to go to such a meeting for the purpose of breaking it up by howling and yelling at the speakers, is certainly no fit action for any man, much less for a Socialist. And yet that is just what has happened and continues to happen right here in the city of New York, and the writer has seen and heard it for the past three years.

When the cart-tail campaign starts on the lower East Side it seems to be the delight of the party members to keep the wagons upon which the speakers of the S. L. P. are, as close as possible to those of the S. D. P. After two years of this kind of campaign work I fail to see where we have derived any benefit from it. Instead I know from actual experience that it has done us more harm than good. It is bad enough when the Police Department with the aid of the S. D. P., conspire to disturb our meetings by allowing the two parties to hold meetings on the same corner in the one night, without us purposely going to such trouble. I have heard the comrades many times denounce the Police Department for their trickery in this respect, yet these same comrades, whenever they get a chance, deliberately do what they denounce the police for allowing; and that is the S. D. P. and the S. L. P. holding meetings on the one corner at the same time.

Not satisfied with this they go wherever they hear of an S. D. P. meeting and try to break them up by howling and hooting at the speakers. These are actual facts with which I am sure most of the members of the party in Greater New York are acquainted and yet against which I have heard very few protest.

I certainly believe we ought to distribute our literaure and, whenever possible ask questions, and though this is considered a disturbance by the S. D. P. yet as long as we allow them the same privileges at our meetings—even though they do not make use of them—we have the moral right to make use of all the means in our power for educational purposes and certainly the audience of an opposing party is the kind we want to reach.

History tells us of many movements which have been ruined or put in danger by their so-called friends. Every movement of any importance in the world's history has had to face the consequences of the fanatical acts of its brainless enthusiasts. And the S. L. P. is no exception to the rule.

In former years we had a class of these brainless enthusiasts called "Borers from Within". Well, we know the result of their actions. We know how upon every possible occasion they made themselves ridiculous and the S. L. P. a laughing stock by jumping up like jumping jacks and trying to do their little stunt of "boring from within", until at last they, like the chicken in the egg, bored themselves out of the S. L. P.

In my experience as a member of the S. L. P. I have found that those who were the most fanatical were the ones who cooled off the quickest and gradually became soreheads, finally ending up by being expelled from the party. I know of no better instance of this than the famous "Thirty-one," with whom I think many of the party members were well acquainted.

In fighting an opponent it is not always necessary to use the mailed fist. There are times when the velvet hand can be used to advantage to both parties. And don't forget that sometimes you are likely to break the mailed fist without breaking the head of your opponent.

There are many good class conscious Socialists in the S. D. P. and while it is true they are in the minority, still when I meet them I greet them as friends for I have known them when we stood shoulder to shoulder in the S. L. P., and know the good work they have done and are still doing for Socialism.

It would be a good idea if party members would be a little more careful as to how they use the word "crook." While I do not know at the present minute the exact dictionary definition of the word I do know what the word means to mostly all Americans. To most people of this country a crook is a thief, or a sneak thief; one who steals under guise of a friend; one who as official takes funds of the organization or society to which he belongs.

Now while Sam Parks and Weinseimer could be called crooks by us, yet how many people would believe us until they were proven so in a court of law. And it is the same with all others whom we call crooks. We seldom, if ever, have evidence enough to convict them in a court of law yet we go right on calling such names never thinking of the difference between the way we mean and the way the public takes it.

It is all well enough to call a "spade a spade", but it is best to make sure it is a spade and not a shovel. For though both are used in the same business both are not the same thing, as any one acquainted with gardening knows.

I hope the comrades will take the matter into consideration, and if there are any who agree with me that they will have the courage to express themselves in the columns of the Daily People.

As regard Comrade Ollendorf's suggestion to elect a committee to confer with th S. D. P. it comes as rather a shock

(Continued on page 7.)

Are We at Bulgaria or Italy?

(Continued from page 6.)

from one of his intelligence and knowledge.

He says he does not want to flirt with them, if not, what does he want the committee to do? Marry them without any flirtation, I suppose.

However much I may at times disagree with certain tactics of the S. L. P., I never could see that matters could be improved by joining such a party as the S. D. P.

Does Ollendorf think the comrades are so discouraged by the loss of votes as to be willing to forget the leaflet called "The Difference", which was issued by the S. L. P.? Does he think that we are of such weak material as to be staggered by a molehill when we have already climbed mountains of obstacles and difficulties? We have not fought the battle of the last ten years in order to retreat after a mere skirmish. We shall continue on as we have begun; facing the enemy and ready for battle at all times. A noted writer has said: "Some defeats are more triumphant than victories", and this will be the case with us.

It is true we have lost votes. But have the S. D. P. gained anything by theirs? Yes! they have gained the heritage of the hungry. Like famished wolves, already are they beginning to rend each other, and, before another year passes by the bunch of grafters that are already flocking like vultures to the feast will have that party by the throat. Then will come the struggle of the decent and honest rank and file and though I am certain they will lose they will have started the fight which must sooner or later purify the S. D. P.

But I do not expect this to happen in less than eight years. It will take all time to bring that party out of its state of chaos, confusion and compromise into which it is rapidly and surely drifting. They are too much elated over their increase of votes to realize as yet the dangers they are subject to. It will take a Willie Hearst, or some other radical Democrat to open their eyes to the fact that 600,000 people did NOT vote for what they thought was Socialism, but because they put Debs in Bryan's place and there was no other choice. The report of the election just held at Los Angeles, Cal., where the VOTE OF THE S. D. P. DECREASED ALMOST ONE-HALF from what it was but four weeks ago, proves this contention to be correct.

Now above all other times should the S. L. P. keep away from the S. D. P. Who knows what the future has in store for them? To judge from the capitalist newspaper reports one would think there was no such a party as the S. L. P. They seem to take particular interest to boom the S. D. P. as THE Socialist party. To me this hides a scheme which is not new. A scheme which has been tried at other times and in other places. And that is: to elect to office wherever possible without danger to themselves, this bogus Socialist party, knowing full well that if elected they will disgrace and betray the cause of Socialism, as they have already done in Massachusetts and cause the name to become a stench in the nostrils of decent men. They have found out that they cannot squelch the S. L. P. nor can they stop the progress of Socialism, so what better way could they devise than this?

History gives us instances of this and history will repeat itself.

It was not because I thought there was any danger of the S. L. P. uniting with the S. D. P. that I entered this discussion but because it appears to me that Com-des Ollendorf and Johnson agree with regarding a certain feature of our itation work and which seems to be propriate for debate just now.

James Cullen.

N. Y. Dec. 18.

XI.

I would like to make a few remarks on the subject of Socialist unity that is being discussed in the columns of our national organ. If I understand the proposition, it is to the effect that, following the suggestion of the International convention, we should appoint a committee that would confer with a committee appointed by the S. D. P., to the end that a union of the Socialist forces be effected, that we may be enabled to present a solid front to the enemy.

I wish to put myself on record at once as saying that, if it be possible to effect such a union as that contemplated without a sacrifice of principle on the part of the S. L. P., I am heartily in favor of anything that will put an end to the jar and the discord. I trust that the members of the S. L. P. will move at the earliest moment possible to make the proposed conference a reality, as it can-ot fail to bring before the sincere So-lists of the country the relative merits the S. L. P. and the S. P. If we are the wrong, I wish to see it as quickly ssible, and if we are right, I hope at the sincere members of the S. P. will give us the credit that we deserve.

Some of our comrades seem to be hypnotized by the vote of the S. P. I am not, although I fail to see any particular merit in a small vote. A slight analysis of the vote of the S. P. serves to show that it is not particularly dangerous to the present system of society, although I cannot agree with Comrade Wieder, when he says that the big vote for Debs was a protest of the Bryanites against the domination of the Democratic party by Wall street. The best way of estimating the real strength of the S. P. is to look at the vote in the states in which there was a real fight: Massachusetts and Colorado. In this State the vote for Debs ran over 4,300, while the vote for the S. P. candidate for Governor, Floaten, was in the neighborhood of 2,500. You will observe that about 1,800 who voted for Debs selected Adams as their candidate for governor. But the fact that 2,500 voted for Floaten goes to show that the S. P. has within its ranks men who cannot be stampeded by any such cry as "Down with Peabody". If it be possible to arrive at an understanding with these people in the matter of principle the Socialist movement will have made an advance.

I realize that there are great obstacles to be surmounted before unity may be even approached, but, comrades, if we go into the matter in good faith and sincerity, dropping all personalities that may stand in the path of unification, we may be agreeably surprised at the outcome.

H. J. Brimble.

Florence, Col., Dec. 19.

XII.

It had not been my intention to mix up in this affair at all for the reason that, in my opinion, there is only one way in which it can be settled; but upon the request of Comrade Steinhoff, of Columbus, I make my contribution to the literature on the question: "Are we at Bulgaria or Italy?"

The bone of contention seems to be the suggestion of Comrade Ollendorf in the Daily People of the 6th inst. to the effect that a committee of the S. L. P. be appointed for the purpose of conferring with a similar committee to be appointed by the S. D. P. on, presumably, "The Difference." There are several lines of thought opened up by this suggestion:

First, The committee appointed by the S. D. P., presuming that they would appoint one, would not be representative of that portion of that party which it is our desire to reach, i. e., the rank and file who are supposed to be individually honest and sincere in their desire for the Socialist Republic; but who are the dupes of designing and dishonest leaders. That committee would inevitably be composed of these same leaders; and the result of such a conference with such people would reach the rank and file of the S. D. P. through a privately owned and corrupt press in the same garbled form as did the result of the De Leon-Harriman debate in New Haven.

Second, An important point to consider in this connection is the ash-barrel character of the S. D. P. and the necessity of such an ash barrel in the Socialist movement. That Carey, "A. M. [illegible] Editor", Job Harriman, E. V. Deb lord Wilshire, W. C. Critchlow and others of that ilk could become Socialists, as the term is understood by the S. L. P. is unthinkable; and were we able to force a union, even upon our own terms and embodying, on paper, our own principles and tactics as the principles and tactics of the unified party, the same people who formed the present S. D. P. would inevitably form another ash barrel party; and it is essential to us that it should be so; for the reason that if there were no such party for them to go to, all of the freaks in the country would flock to the S. L. P. and our condition of internal turmoil would then prevent us from prosecuting the work for which we are organized. My own experience (I was originally a "Coming Nation" Socialist-Populist) satisfied me that there are probably a large number of those who voted the S. D. P. ticket in the late election who would be good additions to the S. L. P. were we able to get at them; but I am also satisfied that the way to get at them is not through conferences with committees of their leaders; but rather we must look to ourselves, to our own methods of propaganda to see if some method cannot be found whereby we can reach them over the heads of their leaders.

In this connection I would offer a suggestion of a plan that has been running in my mind for about a year (and I would ask that other comrades who write on this subject do the same)—I would suggest that we lease vacant property (where it can be done within our means) in the neighborhood of factories where the people whom we desire to reach are employed, for bill-board pamphlets. Erect bill boards thereon and ano periodically post thereon bills printed in large type asking of the workers questions pertinent to our movement or making brief and pointed statements of fact that "he who runs may read."

Property of this character can be leased at a very low figure for the reason that the kind of property that is available for this purpose is usually being held for merely speculative purposes and any income, even the smallest, that the owners can derive from it is just like finding that much money.

I would further suggest that these bills carry a standing advertisement of the Weekly People and that the whole of this work be done on the responsibility and by the authority of the N. E. C. of the S. L. P.

J. Q. Fraser.

Dayton, O., Dec. 17.

XIII.

"Are we at Bulgaria or Italy?" is not a very hard task for me to discuss now. I, like the inventors, have the benefit of previous laborers. I have the writings of Jennie Carliph, David Rudnick, Otto Steinhoff, W. W. Cox, James Connolly, Michael T. Berry, John Hossack, G. Ollendorf, Olive M. Johnson and Daniel De Leon before me on the subject of "unity".

Let us reverse the order, beginning with myself, then going backward, we can see that it is easier to improve the machine than to invent. Still I feel that I would like to play my little part at this time. I will not comment favorably or otherwise on any of the contributors. But this I must admit: if Mrs. Johnson or any one else had not called my attention to Mr. De Leons' report of the Amsterdam Convention, I doubt very much if I would have written on this subject.

My attention is recalled to the Fifties when the Abolitionists were agitating the country. In 1856 they nominated for President a man named "Freemont" and their slogan was "Free," free everything, particularly "free men." But what do we find in 1860? Not "freedom", instead "no extension of slavery". Did not "opportunism" play its part then? Did they not compromise their truer principles with the "get something now" element, thereby capturing enough sentimental votes to elect Abraham Lincoln President before conditions were ripe for abolition, resulting in a disastrous civil war in which a million men were sacrificed and untold suffering and destruction wrought throughout the land; whereas, if they had remained loyal to their principles, their success might have been deferred an administration or two, and, per chance, escaped the war or even serious frictions?

I consider our situation now identical with that of the Abolitionists' of the campaign of 1856. Are we to imitate them in their attitude in the next campaign? I think not. I have too much confidence in the integrity and intelligence of the members of the Socialist Labor Party to believe such a thing possible.

I don't want war. I don't want Socialists in office until conditions are ripe. I don't want hybreds in office. I don't want opportunism. I don't want "unity" unless that means the "narrowness" of the S. L. P.

Richard Berdan.

Paterson, N. J., Dec. 19.

XIV.

To the uninitiated this discussion would savor of the humorous: our trying to find out where we are at; but to the militant S. L. P. it is one of many perplexing and important questions which confront us. I agree with Comrade Wieder when he says "the time is yet to come."

The effect of the large vote polled by the "Socialist" party in the last election (which remains essentially an "opposition" demonstration) has been to inflate the head-piece of the poor Kangaroo with the idea that the Debs vote was largely socialistic. Consequently, an attempt on our part to join forces with the bogus Socialist, this time, would not only result in admitting defeat and their dictating terms to us, but would mean a complete perversion of the Socialist Labor movement and end in a more complete subjugation of our class.

It is both probable and possible that our venerable editor has been temporarily affected by the aspects of the movement in Europe; but true to the logical import which he assigns to the difference between Bulgaria and Italy, we must realize that in a country of the size of "ours" there is sufficient room for the existence of a Bulgaria and a prospective Italy at one and the same time. Stating it more concisely (still speaking figuratively) the east and middle west may correspond to Bulgaria while the rest of the "active" States may be said to be theoretically on the way to Italy.

As capitalism unfolds and the Socialist sentiment grows contradictions and differences arise in different parts of a large country like America, which to one, whose attention is riveted on a small (though important) section of it, seem impossible. These differences, though having a common genesis, may differ so radically in expression and development as to call for distinctly different treatment.

While I believe the comrades through the country (as I am sure I do) find the "Flash-lights" both interesting and instructive, it is against S. L. P. policy to allow our movement, in this giant industrial country, to be side-tracked by the appearance of industrial pigmies on the economic and political horizon. We must also recover from the "shock" which some of us evidently received by the last election and set to work to build up our Party Press for more effective work in the future. It is painfully apparent to be needful.

"A wrong tack, now, by the S. L. P.
ship,
Would end in a wreck on the treacherous
shore,
And the brave crew, fighting a watery
grave
On the barren hull, would they be
saved?
Perhaps! Perhaps not! !"

For progressive revolution,

A. G. Dehly.

Seattle, Wash., Dec. 18, 1904.

XV.

Because "hundreds of thousands of men, who at last election voted for something that they believed to be Socialism, as Comrade De Leon justly remarks—and therefore are honest men—have placed the S. L. P. in an entirely different position from that occupied now."

The above assertion implies that Comrade Ollendorff ignores the political situation that confronted the voters in the last campaign. Note the "frenzied finance" articles that appeared previous to and during the campaign; the nomination of Roosevelt who appeared to the not well-informed voter as a trust buster; the nomination of Parker, the gold platform of the Democratic party; that to this not well-informed voter the gold standard is synonimous with Plutocracy, Monopoly, Trust Domination, Wall Street and Tyranny; that this voter was informed that the Socialist party was the "only Democratic party"; that the getter of a goodly portion of these votes, E. V. Debs was advertised throughout the greater portion of this country as "The Working Class Candidate"; that a goodly portion voted for "The Working Class Candidate" but not for Socialism; that they would not be able to tell Socialism from a handsaw; that the vote catching immediate demands of the Socialist party are not Socialist demands; that in two local elections held since the national campaign (and close enough to hold the minds of the workers to the point) we see a decline in their vote at a time when it should increase; that here was a time when the voter was close to the politician and ward heeler and knew for what they were; that they could not appeal to him to save the country etc.

Recognizing these propositions why such concern? Why not propose this conference in 1900 or 1902? As far as numbers are concerned both these periods show a goodly portion of "thousands who voted for something they believed to be Socialism as Comrade De Leon justly remarks." If it be numbers that calls forth this concern from Comrade Ollendorff, because these numbers thought they were voting for their material interests, how about the numbers who voted for the Republican, Democratic, etc., tickets, thinking they voted for their material interests? Why not send a conference committee to the Republican, Democratic, etc., parties?

But, if this concern is due to the Unity Resolution of the last International Congress and not the S. D. P. vote let us consider who are responsible for this resolution. Consider the source. Depending on my memory, all those who signed this resolution, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF FERRI, represent countries where the Kautsky Resolution of the Paris Congress of 1900, finds great favor. Italy, itself, stood divided on this resolution at Paris in 1900. Even as late as the Amsterdam Congress, Vandervelde and Adler, of Belgium and Austria, respectively, presented a resolution, the sense of which was a confirmation of the Kautsky resolution of 1900. This resolution presupposed the possibility of impartiality existing between the capitalist state and the working class in their approach to the Labor Question. I question that these signers of this Unity Resolution know very much about the conditions in the United States and further believe they care less. I further believe that the signers of this resolution are in the position that Comrade Ollendorff implies those are who differ with him. For the sake of completeness I will quote him: "One is very apt," he writes, "by the constant application of mind to one and the same subject, to exaggerate its importance in relation to the whole, be this of the mental, moral or material order." To my mind this fits ALL the signers of this Unity Resolution per se.

Whether Hanna did or did not mean the S. L. P. is of very little import. "A party which can neither elect or influence an election, does not exist for them. Let us have no delusion on this point." I doubt that Comrade Ollendorff can speak authoritatively about the characteristics of those men whom Mark Hanna typified.

Why read the declaration of principles of the S. T. & L. A. in the United States Congress before it was a power? I would suggest that the comrade take a soap-box tour from town to town, from State to State; then I am sure he will "have no delusion on this point."

The sentiment about the moilers, toilers, self-deprivation, a little poorer home, a little poorer meal; shabbier clothes etc., all these things we have whether non-Socialist or Socialist. The rank and file of the S. L. P. take these things philosophically knowing that the working class must end it themselves. To me it appears as the sugar to coat the conference pill. Permit me to remark Comedy! Comedy! ! Comedy! ! !

As to the conference committee. The sending of such a committee to the S. D. P. places the Party in the position of recognizing the S. D. P. as a Socialist party and condensing their nefarious record. Exchange views? Why for the last four years the S. D. P. has been anxious that we keep our views to ourselves, but we will not. We are always ready to exchange views with any representative speaker who may crop up, but they want the change, not the views. Their press has had an opportunity to exchange views but they misrepresent and some villify us for these same views.

And, "if arrangements for a wide and proper publication can be made, will go far, very far, toward opening the eyes of the deluded followers of the backboneless, before-the-fakirs-cringing leaders of the S. D. P."? A party is no better than its leaders in intelligence. The leaders are a reflex of the mental calibre of the rank and file. I recognize that many, many of them are honest, but do not know.

What would be the result of a conference with the S. D. P. while under the control or influence of such leaders? What would be the result "if arrangements for a wide and proper publication can be made" with the saintly sheets of the S. D. P. as, for instance, the Appeal to Reason; the Volkszeitung; the Worker; the Cleveland Citizen; the St. Louis Labor; the Social Democratic Herold, etc.?

These false leaders and their venal press are to be the agency through which we are to reach these "deluded followers." And by the by, because these "deluded fellows" were deluded into supporting the S. D. P., which must be a deluding party (in addition to international reason), we should confer—but my gracious, Josephine! don't flirt!

It is as easy to strip your clothes, down to your balbriggans, jump in the East River without getting wet, as it is to send this conference committee to this back-boneless party and maintain an attitude "in strict conformance with our principles as laid down in the platform."

"I am not in favor of flirting association or compromise with the S. D. P. AS IT IS TO-DAY" or as it will be TO-MORROW. When the S. D. P. and the S. L. P. can meet on common ground there will be no compromise, no flirting and—no comedy. Some S. D. P. men are finding very strong ground to stand on, i. e., an application for membership in the S. L. P. I am sure they would be the last to propose any other course knowing this so-called Socialist party as they undoubtedly do.

Every time we run off an edition of the Daily and Weekly People the Party holds a "conference" (with its readers) for proper action, and not a single S. D. P. man is debarred. Some S. D. P. men have taken advantage of these "conferences" and it is my opinion many more will do the same in the future.

As to "talking Socialism" I will say that a doctor can talk medicine, but if he should prescribe corrosive sublimate for chilblains, the lunacy commission would put him where he would be safe, where no one would hear him "talk" medicine and where he would not be permitted to practice. It is all right to "talk," providing you act in conformity. Actions speak very strongly. On this score the S. D. P. is dumb.

We are not "placed in an entirely different position from that occupied now." The above propositions deny this statement. The Party's position is just as strong as when you first took issue with it. Why not come out for Unity under present conditions? This may not be your position, but the conference proposition is the beginning, the Unity the end of an Utopia.

J. T. Vaughan.

New York, Dec. 24, 1904.

XVI.

I must confess that I did not intend to take part in the discussion caused by Comrade Olive M. Johnson's article, under the above caption, believing that the matter had been sufficiently threshed out by now. But to-day's mail brought me two papers, one, the Daily People of December 17th, the other, "Social Ethics," of December 16th, one of the many privately-owned "Socialist" party papers, published at Wichita, Kansas, and I changed my mind. In dealing with the membership of the "Socialist" party, we must not lose sight of the fact that there are two distinct currents visible therein, one which finds expression in the column "Volcanic Rumblings," opened in above-mentioned issue of the Daily People, the other touched upon in the article "Co-operation," in the same issue and supplemented by an advertisement in "Social Ethics," dealing in the same class of green goods. The article, re-printed from the A. L. U. Journal of December, shows plainly the awakening of the industrial proletariat in the S. P.—they are beginning to revolt against members of their party who are flirting simultaneously with Socialism and such outspoken henchmen of the capitalist class as the leaders of the A. F. of L. With men holding such views we have many points in common and soon the day will come when they will report at the recruiting station of the Socialist Labor Party, ashamed of the company they kept heretofore. Of course there are black sheep in every organization, as, for instance, the organizer of the two American Labor Union locals here: a fellow named H. L. A. Holman, the worst grafter I ever knew who even got too strong for the S. P. local, but with other encumbrances the rank and file will throw off such as he and his ilk or go to pieces.

The other current in the "Socialist" party is typified by the debate on Socialism held recently at Wichita, Kansas, between Wm. Barnhill of England (a pupil of Herbert Spencer, who has learned all he knows of Socialism from such "eminent scientific" works as "Merrie England," and the "Fabian Essays"), and Mr. Granville Lowther, late candidate for Governor of the "Socialist" party in Kansas, reported in the issue of "Social Ethics" mentioned above. Ye shades of Marx and Engels, you could have never dreamed that such tommy rot would be retailed over a populist bargain counter and called Socialism. The Populist party of Kansas has been resurrected, painted a light pink and labeled "'Socialist' party."—I send along a report of that debate with the special request to the Editor of The People to lend it to Comrade Ollendorff for perusal. And with such gentry we should meet in joint committee to discuss the bridging of the abyss dividing the two parties? Not if I know my fellow-members, a few of whom have expressed themselves quite emphatically in the negative.

Along with that element which is dominated in the agricultural sections of the country and in the undeveloped middle class towns in the west and south, ought to be classed that contingent of grafters (editors of twenty-four papers, traveling speakers, organizers, etc.) who have bounced upon the growing Socialist sentiment of the land as a welcome opportunity for exploitation. It is THEY who are the loudest in the condemnation of the Socialist Labor Party, knowing we would make short shrift with them if they ever get into our fists.

It is my opinion—and I believe I voice those of the majority of my fellow-members—that we have to draw the line as HARD AND FAST AS EVER and leave it to the opportunities as offered to the speaker on the stump, or the Press and literature to sweep the cobwebs off the minds of the HONEST Socialist party rank and file. Their own experience, shown by the volcanic rumblings, will do the rest.

Frank Leitner.

San Antonio, Tex., Dec. 23, 1904.

XVII.

Among the statements contained in Comrade G. Ollendorff's letter under the above heading there is one that, though effectually disposed of by others, needs a more substantial elucidation. When the comrade writes "I am in favor of the appointment of a committee," etc., he must have in mind the action of the Socialist Party of France (Revolutionary Unity), which, at the close of the Amsterdam Congress, appointed such a committee to meet a similar committee of the French Socialist Party (Jaures' conglomeration of sentimental and alchemistical saviors of humanity) to discuss the unity proposition.

Experience teaches us that whosoever attempts to conduct the New according to the Old World, is entirely off the track. If the forces of the Revolutionary Unity are holding conferences with the Jaures' contingent, it is not because they instructed a committee to that effect, but because there was a "force majeure," (a superior force) calling for such action. If you compare the circumstances under which the Jaures' clique worked in France, as against the get-in-office-quick-over-the-backs-of-the-working-class-brigade over here, you at once see the necessity for the above action in France, and the utter impossibility of such a step in America.

When the split in the Parti Ouvrier Francais occurred at the opening of the National Convention, in 1904, the rubber bullet duelist, James, with his hobby, Millerand, "the baron" Minister of Commerce at that time, having swamped the congress hall (Salle Wagram) with fake delegates, "the baron" using government funds at his disposal as a cabinet minister, for the purpose—several of the militants, members of the different committees, after having been assaulted for declining to concur in laudatory resolutions of the Jaures clique for their help in shooting and killing proletaires at Chalons-aux Saone and St. Pierre, Martinique, withdrew to the Salle Vautier, and there one of the first actions was to prepare a basis of unity for all bona-fide Socialists. A few days later the "Salle Wagram Congress" (sic) also drew up a basis for unity purposes, and for the last four years there has been a constant polemic as to "which is which." During all this period the sentimental and alchemistical contingent not only existed but prospered, and the bona-fide Socialists, having since then organized into the Revolutionary Unity, had to bide their time. The Dresden Congress furnished the golden opportunity and became their big gun. At Amsterdam, it was evident that the congress would render a decision that would take the wind out of the sails of opportunism in France principally, and the world, incidentally. This move, in itself a clever one, hardened the final trip hammer blow.

Jaures, who headed the confusion in France, is an elegant rhetorician, whose conception of matters, being based on Idealism, enabled him, when presenting his original, although irrelevant thoughts and opinions on Socialism, framed in grand and exquisite language, to raise dust galore. Jaures, upon leaving the University, after the miners' strike of Carmeux, to enter the ranks of the P. O. F., held then substantially the same views that he holds to-day; so that although he is ridiculous, he still is consistent. In brief, Jaures and company had a standing, and the bona-fide Socialists were up against it, during all that time.

Now, take the most prominent of the S. P. here, Eugene V. Debs. In him we have before us a combination of admission, commission and confusion. Debs after the "sacrifice" (read "good times,") in Woodstock Jail, concluded that Socialism is right and then at the first opportunity took the stump for the anti-Socialist, Bryan. Dominated by the same sentiment of "sacrifice," Debs starts on a career of confusion by disseminating co-operative colony doctrines in opposition to the political action of the Socialist Labor Party, of whose existence he was well aware. As was expected, this scheme exploded. We next find Debs organizing a party for the very political action he had before denounced, uniting with expelled members of the Socialist Labor Party. And, as is well known, the Debs' party, thus formed, is making political and trade union compromises in order to get material for more "sacrifice."

I desist from further illustrations, convinced that the above will suffice to show that no parallel whatsoever can be drawn that would require further action. The Socialist Labor Party need not wait for an opportunity as in the case of the bona-fide Socialists of France, as the very inception and history of the "get-office-quick" brigade, furnishes us a very visible target to train our guns on. Logic tells us that "Nothing comes out of the sack, but what is in it." But then we can also rely upon the cardinal principle of reasoning set down by Abraham Lincoln, when he says: "You can fool some of the people all the time, and all the people some time, but you cannot fool all the people all the time." For the rest, the "Volcanic Rumblings," as published lately in The People tell the tale.

I consider a committee a la Ollendorff out of place. Further, I take this opportunity to discourage the action of some comrades, in holding committee of one meetings from both sides for any length of time, because the intelligent and sincere men in the clutches of the "get-office-quick" brigade to-day will land in the Socialist Labor Party to-morrow. My experiences teach me that after you have spoken twice or thrice to an S. P. or S. D. P. man, and he does not commence to try to find out for himself, it is wise to consider him "non compos mentis" and save your breath for better purposes.

A. Francis.

New York, Dec. 26, 1904.

SECTION ST. LOUIS' OFFICERS.

Section St. Louis has elected the following officers for the ensuing term of six months:—Organizer, Paul Hertzel; recording secretary, J. W. Johnson; financial secretary, Joseph Spalte; People agent, J. J. Ernst; Arbeiter Zeitung agent, C. F. Meier; librarian, Morris Biell; auditing committee, C. W. McNealy, J. F. Graber and C. A. Unger; grievance committee, J. F. Graber, J. J. Ernest and Theodore Kaucher; correspondent to The People, Paul Hertzel.

Watch the label on your paper. That will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third the year.

OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New Reade street, New York.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA—National Secretary, P. O. Box 380, London, Ont.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY, 2-6 New Reade street, New York City (The Party's literary agency.)

Notice—For technical reasons no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

N. E. C. SUB-COMMITTEE.

The first meeting of the Sub-Committee of the N. E. C., which was appointed by that body under the provisions of the new constitution met and organized at 2-6 New Reade street, New York, Friday evening, January 6, 1905. Few who could avoid it ventured out in the storm of Friday night. Nevertheless of the fifteen men appointed the following put in an appearance:

August Gillhaus, John J. Kinneally, Charles C. Crawford, Mathew Lechner, Arvid Olson, Christian Bahnsen, Timothy Walsh, William Teichlauf, Anders Anderson, Julius Eck and John Hossack.

Each signified his acceptance of the appointment and signed a pledge to the Party similar to that signed by the members of the N. E. C.

Of those not present John J. Donohue, and William F. Burke, had told other members that they would accept the appointment. Nothing was heard from Rudolph Katz or Edward J. Gallo, and the secretary was instructed to communicate with them.

The following were elected as officers of the sub-committee, for the ensuing term of six months:

August Gillhaus, Chairman; John Hossack, Recording Secretary; Christian Bahnsen, Seargent-at-Arms.

An order of business was adopted and meetings will be held first and third Fridays of each month.

The National Secretary presented certain matters for the consideration of the committee in which he had to go into detail in order to familiarize the members with them.

The financial report showed receipts, $49.62; expenditures, $80.92. Correspondence: from National Organizer Bohn, which shows that he is meeting with good success in his tour; from Davenport, Iowa, he sends five applications for membership, viz., Michael J. Kremer, J. Van Laar, Chas. Phillips, H. Behrens and Otto F. Heassler, all admitted and a Section in Davenport is a near possibility. Section Louisville, Ky., reports election of officers; Montreal, Can., advices say that efforts will be made to organize a section there; Section Chicago is getting in touch with Hungarian organization; from Phoenix, Ariz., on having National Organizer Bohn make tour of Arizona; from Canadian N. E. C., on how to advertise party literature and press, referred to People Management; from Organizer of Kings County, N. Y., asking that separate charter be issued to them as Section Kings County. Request granted.

The Sub-Committee takes hold at a period when conditions in general are favorable to the movement, and though here and there may be found a Section which is not taking due advantage of the opportunity the Party as a whole is alive to the possibilities and the duties of the time.

John Hossack,
Recording Secretary.

THE TOUR OF COMRADE FRANK A. BOHN.

On November 20 began the transcontinental tour of Comrade Frank A. Bohn. The comrade put in one week's work in Kentucky, after which he proceeded to Indiana and Illinois, from which he will go to Missouri, Kansas, Colorado, Utah, Arizona, California, Oregon, Washington, and then return East. When first conceived, the tour was undertaken largely as a means to get Comrade Bohn to California, the S. L. P. State Executive Committee of that State having engaged the comrade for a three months' agitation and organization tour there. But that aspect of the matter vanished completely when the result of the late election became known. A situation utterly different from what we have had before, confronts us today. The "safe and sane" Democracy has been smashed at the polls. Ne plus ultra capitalism has been placed in the saddle in a manner that must cause secret fear in the hearts of its more far-seeing representatives, it being more than they probably bargained for. As a result, the lines of the class struggle will soon become more plainly visible in our political life than ever before. During such times men will learn more in a month than they would otherwise learn in a year. Their minds will be open. Therefore, now is the time for the Socialist Labor Party to do its utmost to agitate, educate and organize. The tour of Comrade Bohn appeared desirable when first mentioned. Looked at in the light of the present situation, it has become imperative.

To make possible the uninterrupted success of this tour, the National Executive Committee, who have assumed full responsibility for the work, financially and otherwise, must be supported. We therefore call upon all members and friends of the Socialist Labor Party to contribute to a fund to sustain the work now undertaken, said fund to be known as the "General Agitation Fund," under which head all contributions will be publicly acknowledged. Let those who can give send their contribution, but wherever possible instead of making one contribution and then be done with, let those who ardently desire to further this work pledge a small weekly contribution in an amount in keeping with their means and thus insure a steady income. Should the response to this call warrant it, other organizers will be put on the road as fast as means permit.

Public acknowledgements of the amounts received will be made once a week in the Sunday People and will then appear in the subsequent issue of the Weekly People.

Trusting that this will meet with the response the situation demands, we are, Fraternally yours,

The National Executive Committe, Socialist Labor Party, Henry Kuhn, Secretary.

GENERAL AGITATION FUND.

The National Executive Committee, when in session on Jan. 1 and 2, decided that the General Agitation Fund include what may still be received on the National Campaign Fund, so as to do away with the simultaneous running of two separate funds. In keeping with this decision, all moneys hereafter received for the N. C. F. will be acknowledged under the above head. During the week ending with Jan. 7, the following amounts have been received for both funds:

R. Krasberg, Schenectady, N. Y.	$1.00
K. Georgewitch, Schenectady	1.00
H. Burmester, Schenectady	1.00
L. Wirth, Schenectady	.25
E. Ericson, Schenectady	.25
J. A. Leach, Phoenix, Ariz.	10.00
N. J. S. E. C., one-third on Essex County Campaign lists	2.33
Minn. S. E. C., one-third on Campaign lists	22.33
G. M. S., Providence, R. I.	.24
Section Peoria, Ill., per Bohn	6.00
Miss C. Weinberger, N. Y. City	.15
M. Weinberger, N. Y. City	.15
John O'Keefe, Braddock, Pa.	1.50
Hamlet Jackson, Braddock, Pa.	1.00
August Clever, Braddock, Pa.	1.00
Henry Kaufer, Red Lake Falls, Minn.	1.00
Total	$49.20
Previously acknowledged	$136.04
Grand total	$185.24

HENRY KUHN,
National Secretary.

STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES

that have not as yet reported their representatives on the new N. E. C., are urged to do so without delay, giving full name and address of the member elected for the purpose of obtaining a complete list for the use of the members of the N. E. C.

Report to the undersigned.

Henry Kuhn, National Secretary.

CANADIAN N. E. C.

Regular meeting of N. E. C., at London, December 17, 1904. Comrade Pearse in chair. Weitzel absent without excuse. Minutes adopted as read.

Communications: From F. Pearse, St. Thomas, referred to Section London. From Chas. A. V. Kemp, Bracondale, P. O. Toronto, giving information why Martin resigned from the Party and stating that he (Chas. A .V. Kemp) was elected as organizer of Section Toronto. Received and filed. From P. Van Dusen, organizer Section Hamilton, asking what action the N. E. C. took regarding Gordon's letter; asking for speaker to be sent to Hamilton. The secretary reported no letter from Gordon. Communication received and secretary to reply. From New York Labor News Company ,receipt for $5.00 for 10,000 dues stamps. Received and filed.

The secretary reported communications to New York Labor News Company, H. H. Stewart, Alex. McKinnon, Van Dusen, and F. Martinolote of Section Toronto; also sent on October 20 subscription to and report of the N. E. C. to convention to the Socialist of Edinburg, Great Britain, and The People of Australia. The recording secretary reported receiving five editions of The People of Australia.

The secretary was instructed to write to F. Pearse of St. Thomas; also J. McCrae of Winnipeg regarding re-organization of a Section; also to H. Kuhn, in full in reference to convention's plan of advertising The People, urging him to bring same before the new N. E. C. of U. S.

The secretary was instructed to draw on treasurer for $2.00.

The national secretary reported shortage of dues stamps. Secretary to write New York Labor News Company in regard to same.

Adjourned.

W. D. Forbes, Recording Secretary.

PENNSYLVANIA S. E. C.

A meeting of the State Committee was held on December 30. Comrade Erwin, chairman. Minutes of previous meeting, after correction, approved. Correction was: the State secretary returned twenty international assessment stamps, instead of forty-six, as stated in minutes of last meeting.

Communications: From Kuhn, sending receipt for $7 and 100 due stamps, also acknowledging receipt of twenty international assessment stamps and stating balance of $5.20 still due in stamps or money or both. From Allentown, reported having paid for assessment stamps, returned campaign lists and sent $1 along with them. From Braddock, Comrade Markley asked to be counted out of election for member to N. E. C. as he thought that delegate should go from Philadelphia, which is nearer to seat of national headquarters. From Kuhn, sending account for assessment stamps; same is: sent ninety-six, returned by cash, $10, balance due, $5.20; national secretary also reported that all campaign lists except No. 37, had been accounted for. From Scranton, reported having been mistaken about former contention that Socialist party was official in the State; also reporting on local conditions that miners in that vicinity were apathetic toward U. M. W. Union,and reported that Section would enter spring elections. From Erie, nominating Katz, of Philadelphia, and Hinkel, of Reading, as candidates to N. E. C.; nominations had been received after call for the election of a delegate had been gotten up, consequently names were not placed on ballot. Due stamps were purchased by Section Erie, and Section acknowledged receipt of N. A. F. matter. From Butler, received N. A. F. matter, and cast one vote for Seidel for member of N. E. C. From Kuhn, receipts for eighty-eight and sixty cents. From Wilkinsburg, Pa., seven votes for Seidel, stating reasons for voting for a member from Philadelphia because nearer to New York. From Altoona, acknowledging receipt of N. A. F. matter and two packages sold, matter was a good seller. From Shelby, sent $4.20 for their allotment of N. A. F. matter. From Braddock, purchasing due stamps. From Wismer, voted for Seidel on N. E. C. From Scranton, voted seven for Grant on N. E. C. From Philadelphia, voted nine for Seidel; from Back of West Elizabethport, voted for Markley; from Reading, voted for Grant; also purchasing due stamps.

The State secretary reported having received blanks for financial reports; ordered distributed.

Section Philadelphia's request to have its debt to State Committee canceled was referred to the Section for further consideration.

The vote for member of N. E. C. was: Seidel, twenty-one, Grant, eight, Markley, one. Seidel was declared elected.

The State Committee decided to call upon Section Philadelphia to nominate four members to fill two vacancies on State Committee.

Comrade D. Rehder was elected recording secretary in place of E. Seidel, who resigned from committee.

The State secretary submitted draft of a circular letter to be sent to the sections; same approved and ordered published and distributed.

Receipts, $14.20. Expenses, $8.18.

D. Rehder, Recording Secretary.

N. Y. S. E. C.

Meeting of Dec. 28, 1904, at headquarters, Daily People building. Ferguson in chair. Wegener absent. Minutes of previous meeting adopted as read.

Secretary reported nominations for new N. E. C. member received since last meeting, as follows: Section Scandinavian, Bengt Anderson, N. Y. City; Section Monroe County, J. J. Kinneally, New York City; Section Schenectady County, Harry Gunn, Schenectady, N. Y.; Section Erie County, Boris Reinstein, Buffalo, N. Y., and James J. Kinneally, N. Y. City; Section Onondaga County, Boris Reinstein, Buffalo, N. Y. Letters declining nominations for member new N. E. C. were received from James J. Connolly, Anton Metzler and Peter Jacobson. Ordered filed. Pledges required of nominees for member of new N. E. C. were received from Boris Reinstein, Charles Zolot, Adam Moren, Bengt Anderson, John J. Kinneally and Harry Gunn. Ordered filed. Secretary reported that votes on nominees for new N. E. C. had been received from Sections Erie County, Monroe County, Onondaga County, Schenectady, Rensselear County, Newburgh, Westchester County, Scandinavian and New York. As Section New York stated that some of its subdivisions were going to vote that same evening (Dec. 28,) it was decided to delay the tabulating of the vote until noon the next day. Comrades Kuhn and Ebert were elected a committee on tabulation, with power to issue credentials to nominee elected.

Communications: From Organizer Vollersten (Monroe County) announcing receipt of N. A. F. matter and settlement of Section's and State Committee's claims with J. T. B. Geariety. Filed. From Albany announcing dissolution of Section. Secretary instructed to write to Section Rensselear, requesting it to undertake the organization of a new Section, as the committee believes Albany should not be without a Section, and the material can be got to build it. From Wm. Burke, of Watervliet, N. Y., applying for membership-at-large. As applicant is already a member, he was referred to Section Rensselear County, if Watervliet is within its jurisdiction. If not he should send dues to the State Committee.

Committee to examine by-laws of Section Rensselear County reported. Report received and secretary instructed to transmit it to Section Rensselear. Committee on Address to party membership on the political situation, submitted draft. Accepted and ordered printed in party press and in circular form for distribution through Sections and correspondence bureau.

The work of the Correspondence Bureau was then taken up. Secretary was instructed to confer with Comrade Crawford, in drafting a blank for use by Sections and sympathizers. Plans for the extension of the bureau's work were also considered.

Adjournment followed.

J. Ebert, Secretary.

NEW JERSEY STATE COMMITTEE.

Meeting held Sunday, January 8, at 143 Beacon avenue, Jersey City. Berdan chairman. All members present except McCrorrie.

Committee on canvassing vote for member of N. E. C., reported that John C. Butterworth had been elected and that credentials had been given him. Sections Essex County, Passaic County and Hoboken reported election of officers. Herrschaft reported having gone to Hackensack to straighten out cards of members there. His action endorsed. Secretary reported that he is corresponding with sympathizers in unorganized places in an endeavor to enlist them in the Party work.

A. J. Boland for the S. T. and L. A. reported that agitation leading toward organization is being conducted in Paterson and Jersey City, the party co-operating in the agitation. New Jersey comrades generally are urged to join in the Alliance work of organizing the proletariat along correct economic lines.

It was resolved that the next State Convention be held 10 a. m. Wednesday, February 22 ,which date is a holiday. The last convention selected Newark as the city, the place of meeting will be announced later. The basis of representation will be, one delegate for each 100 votes, or majority fraction thereof, cast in each organized county. Sections will accept this as official notice for the election of delegates.

In the matter of Weekly People readers, this state is low on the list. It will be noticed that New Jersey never appears in the Business Department notes of the Weekly as a sender of subscriptions. The sections are to at once report names and addresses of People agents to the secretary of this committee. Organizers please take notice.

We are at last enabled to announce that the International Congress stamp account is closed, but there are yet many campaign lists out. Get them in at once. Secretary.

CONNECTICUT, ATTENTION!

To the Sections and members of the S. L. P. in the State of Connecticut: On account of sickness, Comrade A. Gierginsky has resigned from the secretaryship, therefore all communications intended for the Connecticut S. E. C. should be addressed to the undersigned.

Fred Fellermann,
2 State street, Hartford, Conn.

BOSTON LECTURES.

The Socialist Labor Party will hold Sunday evening lectures at headquarters, 1165 Tremont street, corner Ruggles st., as follows:

Jan. 15, subject: Why I Am A Socialist.

Jan. 22, subject: The Socialist Movement.

Jan. 27, subject: The Socialist Labor Party.

The lecturer will be Comrade Jas. A. Bresnahan. Comrades are requested to attend and make the lectures a success.

SECTION MILWAUKEE, WIS.

Section Milwaukee, Wis., will hold its regular semi-annual meeting Jan. 14, at S. L. P. headquarters. There will be election of officers and other important business. Every comrade should be present. Organizer.

NEW HAVEN'S OFFICERS.

Section New Haven has elected the following officers for the ensuing term: Organizer, Joseph Marek; recording secretary, J. P. Johnson; financial secretary, Chris. Schmidt; treasurer, Meyer Stodel; literary agent, S. Stodel; Agent for The People, Chris. Schmidt; for Arbeiter Zeitung, E. T. Oatley; auditing committee, C. Warner, A. Fischer and C. G. Sundberg; grievance committee, T. Sullivan, E. T. Oatley, Meyer Stodel, C. G. Sundberg and J. Marek.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES

Two hundred and sixty one subscriptions to the Weekly People were secured during the week ending Saturday, January 7. This includes 100 trial subs. sent in and paid for by Section Minneapolis, which shows that not enough work is being done in other place. Last week we suggested that every member of the Socialist Labor Party resolve to secure one sub. a week during the year 1905. Think what that would mean! Think what it would mean in your own city if every one of your members each got a new reader every week! How many of our members will try this? Where is there another Socialist paper that you would ask a person to subscribe to? There is no other. You would feel ashamed to offer a workingman any of the so-called Socialist papers. And now when those well-meaning ones who have heretofore supported that so-called Socialist press are beginning to get their eyes open, are you not going to help them along by asking them to become readers of the Weekly People? The time is ripe for action. Let us all make a more determined effort to spread the circulation of the S. L. P. press.

Comrade Herron, of Tacoma, Wash., sends in ten; the 34th A. D. New York, 12; R. C. Goodwin, San Francisco, 9; G. A. Jenning, E. St. Louis, Ill., 5; C. U. Starkenberg, Chicago, 5, subs.

Comrade C. H. Burnham, of Boston, sends in a list of nine or ten bundle orders every week. We want more bundle orders. Try to get them here not later than Tuesday afternoon so we can ship them out early.

Section Milwaukee took 100 extra copies of the issue of Jan. 7th.

Every S. L. P. man should read the Daily People. The Weekly is not sufficient for one who wishes to keep well informed. Too much important matter is crowded out of the Weekly. There are 21 columns of new matter a day in the Daily; that makes fully 175 columns during the seven days of the week, inclusive of the eight-paged Sunday issue. The Weekly has only six pages; that makes a little over 35 columns of new matter. It is impossible to squeeze the 175 columns within 35. Become a reader of the Daily and get all the news. It costs you only 40 cents a month or $1 for three months.

LABOR NEWS NOTES.

Los Angeles, makes the start for the new year's work. The section and the California S. E. C. jointly order several hundred well selected pamphlets, cloth bound books, and leaflets, amounting in all to $28. This indicates a live agitation on the coast.

San Francisco orders 220 buz-saw pamphlets. The rest of the orders were for small items, and we will only mention Comrade Wilson of Decatur, Wash., $3.60 for cloth bound books, including "The Pilgrim's Shell", and Detroit's order for 25 "Neue Welt Calendar."

Indianapolis ordered 10 "The Pilgrim's Shell", and explained how they are being sold by use of the advertising matter furnished to comrades by us, free. Watch for Comrade Janke's leter in The People and take up the plan. Do it everywhere. Though the climate may not permit all to take up with full vigor the spreading of the propaganda pamphlets, after the example of California; it offers all the better advantage to concentrate upon the work of pushing the cloth bound books.

DISTRICT ALLIANCE 49, S. T. AND L. A.

The regular meeting of District Alliance 49, Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, was held on Thursday, January 5, at the Daily People Building, with Comrade August Gillhaus in the chair. Minutes of previous meeting adopted as read. All officers present with exception of Sergeant at Arms.

Delegates E. Fischer, Vitzlader and Stuckgold of Local Alliance 1, Hotel and Restaurant Employes Alliance, and Nelson J. Eckert, of Local Alliance 42, Yonkers, were seated and pledged. The committee of two, Comrades S. Moskowitz and Louis Wieder, reported that they went over the membership books of Section New York, S. L. P. and worked out a list of members not members of the S. T. and L. A., also giving their occupations. This report gives hope of forming in the near future three or four new Locals and strengthening the old ones. The list of names was turned over to the Committee on Organization for further action. In conjunction with this report a committee consisting of Comrades S. J. French, A. Francis, L. Wieder, P. Jacobson, A. Gillhaus, F. Loehr, E. Fischer, I. Baldelli, J. J. Kinneally, C. Steier and J. Roth were elected to visit the various subdivisions of Section New York, S. L. P. to show the members the necessity of joining the Locals of the S. T. and L. A. and thereby strengthening the economic arm of the movement.

The election of officers of District Alliance 49 resulted as follows: Organizer, S. Moskowitz; Recording Secretary, F. Loehr; Financial Secretary, P. Jacobson; Treasurer, Ivo Baldelli; Sergeant at Arms, L. M. Wieder. Committee on Organization, Peter Jacobson, of Yonkers, R. Bartils and Paul Augustine, of the Bronx; F. Loehr and I. Baldelli, of Brooklyn; A. Francis and L. Wieder, of Manhattan. Auditors, E. Fischer, J. Roth, and A. Stuckgold.

The reports of Locals are too lengthy for reproduction here; so we will take only three of them. Local Alliance 1, is the youngest of all, but nevertheless the spirit displayed by its delegates was admirable. They made an encouraging report and applied to the Press Committee for a leaflet to hand to their co-workers and convince them of the necessity of joining a sound and real union. The request was granted and a committee composed of Comrades French and Stuckgold was elected to write a good leaflet in a very plain language. Local Alliance 42, of Yonkers, requested a speaker of the Alliance to speak on the People's Forum of Yonkers. Request complied with. Local Alliance 140, Bronx, reported arranging for agitation. After adjournment of D. A. 49 the Committee on Organization met, transacted some business and decided to meet again on Jan. 14. The committee elected to visit the Assembly Districts also met and devised ways and means to further the interests of the Alliance.

Secretary.

Section Calendar

(Under this head we shall publish standing advertisements of Section headquarters, or other permanent announcements, at a nominal rate. The charge will be one dollar per line per year.)

New York County Committee—Second and fourth Saturdays, 8 p. m., at 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

Kings County Committee—Second and fourth Saturdays, 8 p. m., at headquarters, 813 Park avenue, Brooklyn.

General Committee—First Saturday in the month, at Daily People building, 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

Offices of Section New York, at Daily People building, 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

Los Angeles, California. Section headquarters and public reading room at 205½ South Main street. Public educational meetings every Sunday evening. People readers are invited to our rooms and meetings.

San Francisco, Calif., S. L. P. headquarters and free reading room 850 Market street Room 40. Open day and evening. All wage workers cordially invited.

Chicago, Ill., S. L. P.—Section Headquarters, 48 West Randolph street. Business meetings 2d and 4th Friday of each month.

Section Toronto, Can., S. L. P. meets in Room 3, Richmond Hall, Richmond street W., every second and fourth Wednesdays. Workingmen cordially invited.

Sec. St. Louis, Mo., S. L. P. meets every Thursday, 8 p. m. at 307½ Pine Street Room 6.

Sec. Cleveland, Ohio, S. L. P. meets every first and third Sunday of month at 356 Ontario Street (Ger. Am. Bank Bldg.) top floor, at 2.30 P. M.

Section Providence, R. I., meets at 77 [illegible] street, Room 8. Something going [illegible] Tuesday night at 8.00 p. m. [illegible] starting [illegible] 4th regular business others devoted to lectures and discussions. During the winter a Science Class every Wednesday night.

GREATER BOSTON, TAKE NOTICE.

At a special meeting of Local 77, S. T. and L. A. at headquarters, Jan. 8, the following officers were elected:

Organizer, Wm. H. Carroll; recording secretary E. H. Burnham; financial secretary, Karl Gromoos; treasurer, J. V. Schugel; sergeant at arms, Jos. Ahearn. Regular meetings, first Sunday of each month, at 7.30 p. m. A large attendance at meetings will be duly appreciated.

E. H. Burnham, Rec. Sec.

ENDORSE AMSTERDAM DELEGATE.

Official Action of the Australian Socialist League.

Australian Socialist League.
Sidney, N. S. W., October 29, 1904.

To the National Secretary,
Socialist Labor Party, U. S. A.

Dear Comrade:—

I am instructed by the General Executive of the above League to convey to your National Executive Committee its appreciation of your delegate, Comrade Daniel De Leon, to the Amsterdam Congress, and who acted also for the S. L. P. of Australia. We endorse the action towards Hyndman and Co., in their impudent presumption in requesting the credentials of Comrade De Leon from this League to be submitted to that posturing conglomeration—the British delegation.

Our attitude in that connection coincides with the young, gritty and militant British S. L. P.

We agree with Comrade De Leon that proxy delegates and proxy voting should not be allowed—nor was it our intention that he should be regarded as such in our behalf—but merely to represent our views and voice our principles, methods, and tactics as in line on the political field and as indentical with the S. L. P. of the United States.

The following resolution has been adopted by our General Executive and ordered to be forwarded to you:

Resolution—"The General Executive of the Australian Socialist League endorses the resolution moved by Daniel De Leon, delegate of the Socialist Labor Party of America and bearer of credentials from the S. L. P. of Australia and of Canada at the International Socialist Congress at Amsterdam. The resolution expressed and defined the true Socialist position and the only correct methods and tactics to be adopted by an honest, class conscious revolutionary Socialist Party in its march towards the conquest of the public powers."

Next mail we will forward you resolutions containing our views on the Congress as a whole.

Yours fraternally,
Jas. O. Moroney,
General Secretary.

MINNESOTA VOTE.

(Published by Request.)

Counties.	Anderson, Governor, S. L. P.	Nash, Governor, Pub. Owner. P.	Davidson, Elector, S. L. P.	Wilson, Elector, Pub. Owner. P.
Aitkin	9	41	6	61
Anoka	6	10	2	20
Becker	16	43	5	68
Bettrami	36	74	15	132
Benton	10	11	..	20
Big Stone	10	29	7	68
Blue Earth	15	45	2	135
Brown	14	30	2	53
Carlton	34	121	6	175
Carver	6	11	1	25
Cass	29	70	3	136
Chippewa	7	10	3	32
Chisago	2	17	1	46
Clay	25	61	6	101
Clearwater	29	26	11	38
Cook	3	7	..	3
Cottonwood	4	7	1	7
Crow Wing	74	137	13	242
Dakota	27	34	8	56
Dodge	3	9	1	21
Douglas	10	30	5	56
Faribault	9	12	1	16
Fillmore	12	42	1	75
Freeborn	32	34	6	95
Goodhue	20	7	14	37
Grant	2	3	1	12
Hennepin	403	2,086	167	4,445
Houston	2	7	2	12
Hubbard	19	42	2	7
Isanti	13	43	9	76
Itasca	52	91	34	167
Jackson	13	13	2	22
Kanabec	8	3	2	8
Kandiohi	10	47	1	99
Kittson	12	6	8	15
Lac Qui Parle	2	10	..	14
Lake	28	140	8	194
Le Lueur	19	53	9	107
Lincoln	8	5	..	10
Lyon	14	15	..	50
McLeod	13	14	2	22
Marshall	29	48	18	63
Martin	7	30	3	55
Meeker	9	13	2	31
Mille Lacs	5	15	4	50
Morrison	18	23	10	42
Mower	29	79	7	133
Murray	4	5	..	14
Nicollet	2	6	1	12
Nobles	8	6	1	11
Norman	34	141	4	173
Olmsted	9	14	2	15
Otter Tail	99	299	47	367
Pine	32	53	2	93
Pipestone	10	19	1	35
Polk	83	189	34	357
Pope	4	5	2	8
Ramsey	255	482	136	1,450
Redwood	8	7	4	16
Red Lake	48	90	43	164
Renville	11	13	5	20
Rice	20	56	10	110
Rork	7	5	2	23
Roseau	40	116	10	132
St. Louis	165	253	124	609
Scott	7	6	..	18
Sherburne	6	10	2	23
Sibley	8	2	2	5
Stearns	25	56	5	85
Steele	19	19	5	52
Stevens	2	7	3	19
Swift	15	7	..	14
Todd	20	48	6	91
Traverse	..	6	..	..
Wabasha	9	22	1	28
Wadena	13	14	3	25
Waseca	5	15	2	22
Washington	9	15	3	41
Watonwan	11	1	3	6
Wilkin	15	20	2	39
Winona	113	59	99	110
Wright	7	23	4	47
Yellow Medicine	4	10	4	19
Total	2,293	5,810	974	11,692

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